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TEXT OF TITO'S OFFICIAL REPORT TO THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS

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TEXT OF TITO'S OFFICIAL REPORT TO THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS

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[Text of report by LCY President Josip Broz Tito, entitled "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Struggle for the Further Development of the Socialist, Self-Managing and Nonalined Yugoslavia," submitted to the 11th LCY Congress, held in Belgrade from 20 to 23 June]

[Text] Comrades, delegates of the 11th LCY Congress,

During the history of our party its congresses have always been of great importance for the struggle of the workers class and the working people of Yugoslavia, the fulfillment of [their] aspirations, aims and ideals. They have always given their imprint to the individual stages in the development of our socialist revolution. The 11th [Tito repeats himself] the 11th LCY Congress, too, concludes such a very important stage of our struggle for socialism. This is all the more true because the Yugoslav communists are coming to their greatest working meeting with great results and with a balancesheet of rich activities in all spheres of social life, work and creation. It is on the basis of these results and new experiences that we shall determine the general directives of our further development.

During the time of great unrest and crises shaking the contemporary world, the period between the 10th and 11th congresses of our country's League of Communists has been one of the most peaceful ones in our development, something that represents a strong confirmation of the stability of our society [Tito repeats himself] society and our system. This period, by successes and results, has been one [Tito corrects himself] by its successes and results this same period has also been one of the most fruitful periods, because in the meantime we have made essential changes in our social existence in the direction of the rule of associated labor and of the real political power of the workers class and the working people. This rounds up the work of many years of the revolutionary endeavors of Yugoslav communists, of the party, of everything that was being created and has been created during the past three decades in peace, freedom and independence. Now the widest prospects have been opened up for the workers class.

The material production forces of society have been strongly increased since the 10th congress. Despite the many difficulties and the unfavorable effect of international economic trends our economic development has been dynamic and basically stable. We have narrowed the gap separating us from the industrially highly developed countries. This has been reflected, among other things, in an essential improvement of our working people's conditions of life and work and in the social security of the working man. We have also made new steps in deepening the equality of our peoples and nationalities. It has been confirmed that self-management and our conditions of national equality are mutually interdependent and inseparable and that the value of these inviolable achievements of our revolution must also be constantly confirmed in concrete actions at every new stage of our development.

The two great achievements we created during this time along the line of the decisions of the 10th congress are the adoption of the law on associated labor and the organization of the new political system of socialist self-managing democracy. As a result of the implementation of the law on associated labor, the workers class really becomes the ruling economic and political power of society. Our working people, producers, all the way from the basic organization of associated labor the the highest form of association of labor and pooling of resources, become the direct factors of expanded reproduction and all other affairs. Thus they assume responsibility for our entire social development,

The new political system, the essence of which is formed by the delegate principle of decisionmaking at all levels and in all spheres of social life, for its part provides the possibilities for realizing this new position and decisive role of the working man. This position represents both the material and the social basis of his freedom. The freedom of man lies not solely in his right to express his views and aspirations freely. True freedom primarily lies in the right and the possibility of man deciding on all questions of his life in a sovereign way. This radically expands the limits of human freedoms in general.

We are waging the struggle for socialism at a time when in the contemporary world all relations, including social, international and interstate relations, have been gripped by uncertainties, crises and unrest, and in this connection one thing is indisputable: problems and contradictions can and must be solved by democratic means with the broadest participation of those who create the social health with their work because, as Marx warns, society will not find its equilibrium until it turns to the sun of work. It is precisely the stability of our society and system that confirms that the socialist self-managing democracy is capable of successfully coordinating a multitude of various interests and of solving without any major shocks even the most complicated problems the people inevitably face in the contemporary period.

International relations today are even more complicated and, unfortunately, even more burdened by crises and problems than at the time of the 10th congress. The forces of the old society, imperialism, colonialism and other forms of domination and hegemony further continue to use all means to resist the progressive changes in all fields of international life.

However, the processes of comprehensive emancipation are continuing and are being intensified, embracing all countries and regions. This is because the aspirations of the peoples and people throughout the world for freedom, independence and autonomous decisionmaking in their own lives, cooperation on an equal basis and for the building of new and fair international social relations are irrepressible.

Socialist nonalined Yugoslavia and the LCY have made and continue to make a contribution to the building of these relations which--this can be freely said--is highly appreciated in the world.

In the past period our foreign policy activity was very intensive. It was marked by several important meetings with the highest leaders of friendly countries and with our participation in the historic meetings in Helsinki, Berlin and Colombo, a participation which was noticeable. Thus, Yugoslavia has increased its international reputation, strengthened its position in the world and consolidated its security even more.

At the same time the struggle we began 30 years ago for equitable relations among the socialist countries and communist parties has been fully affirmed. The great successes we have achieved since the 10th congress have been attained thanks to the efforts of our working people, the ideological unity and the activity of the League of Communists. As the leading ideopolitical force, the League of Communists did not place itself above the working people, but rather acted as their vanguard, as the social force most directly responsible for the fate of the revolution, for the strengthening of the Yugoslav socialist community.

We faced many problems on the domestic and foreign policy plane, problems which in the present world are not our problems alone. These problems have either been resolved or the process for solving them has begun, and we have convinced ourselves once more that we are on the right path. Briefly, in the past period, as always in the past, the Yugoslav communists have honorably fulfilled their debt toward their workers class, toward their peoples and nationalities and toward the socialist, progressive and democratic forces in the world. [applause]

Comrades, at the 10th LCY Congress we assessed that mankind had reached an historic crossroads because of the great revolutionary transformations and changes through which it was passing and because of the resistance we had had to overcome on our path of full liberation and material and spiritual progress. I believe that the overall international development has confirmed and continues to confirm that we were right. The realization of the process of a comprehensive national and social emancipation is constantly being expanded and deepened. Involving all countries and regions of the world, the crisis of capitalism has become even deeper and has intensified. It has become in all fields, and in the full sense of the word, a crisis of the system.

There is no way out of this crisis using old ways and means, particularly not with the old ways and means offered by the forces of reaction and neofascism, even less with the means of political terror. The present situation imposes the need to bridle the dangerous reactionary tendencies and calls for the urgent adoption of social changes toward democracy and socialism. No going back, no threat to the achievements of social development in which the working masses and the progressive movement have invested great efforts must be allowed. The workers class and other democratic forces must unite to wage a struggle for changes in accordance with the national conditions and needs of each country, while working in full independence and autonomy.

Socialism has long since ceased to be limited by state, regional and bloc boundaries, and as a world process it is irrepressibly being strengthened and is progressing. In an increasingly greater number of countries throughout the world various forms of socialist relations are being born and developed. This is an expression of the law of social development and of the increased awareness of the world masses that the changes toward socialism best suit the interests of an independent and accelerated development and the protection of one's national independence and sovereignty.

The achievements and experiences of socialism in certain countries also influence the development in other regions, particularly in international relations. We can freely say that the principle, and to a great extent also the practice, of different and new paths and forms of building socialist social relations has been most widely asserted. Every progressive movement is making its contribution to this struggle with its own ideas and deeds, understanding [Tito corrects himself] flowing into the world pool of the struggle for a new socialist image of man and mankind. These very diverse values make up the present sense and character of socialism as a world process.

The conscious socialist forces must pursue their political action by proceeding from a given historic reality. Socialism is developing at an uneven pace, along with contradictions, along with many kinds of resistance, difficulties and confrontations and sharp conflicts. One should not expect that it will proceed in the future without conflicts, be it a matter of socialist social transformation in certain countries or of relations among individual countries or rather relations among the political proponents of the struggle for a new society on the international plane.

For this reason the organized socialist forces have an extraordinarily great responsibility for finding the solutions to the existing contradictions that will lead to a quicker fulfillment of the historical aims of the liberation of labor and man in their own country, as well as responsibility for the assertion of those democratic tendencies and substances in international relations that make possible and promote progressive transformations in society and the strengthening of all-comprehensive cooperation on the basis of independence and equality.

The front of the forces of freedom, independence, peace and progress is wider than ever before. Hence, also the need for its united activity on the basis of complete independence and equality and against every kind of dogmatism, sectarianism, pseudo-revolutionary claims, monopolist aspirations regardless from what side they may come.

In the development of the international community as a result of the unprecedented progress of production forces and the scientific-technological revolution the interdependence and mutual ties between countries have never been as great as they are now. However, the contradictions, as far as the use and distribution of the accumulated wealth in the world in which we live are concerned, are also deep. This situation is unequal, profoundly unjust and untenable.

The struggle of peoples and of progressive democratic forces and movements, and primarily of the workers class and the working people, for freedom and independence, for autonomous decisionmaking on their own development, for new and more just international economic and political relations, for international cooperation on the basis of equality and on the basis of active and peaceful coexistence and against exploitation, subjugation and all forms of outside domination is raging with an ever growing strength. At the same time the forces of the old society and obsolete structures continue to strive in every way to preserve the relations of inequality and their own monopolist positions. Thus, they are striving to preserve the things that enables them to exploit the broad masses in their own countries as well as other peoples and their wealth, to derive extra profits and enrichment at the expanse of the greater part of the world community, the developing countries. No matter how much they may be in a deep crisis, imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and all other forms of oppression are still very much present in the international reality and are tenacious in their opposition to a positive transformation of the world on the basis of equality and equal rights. Peoples are confronted with frequent instances of hegemonism on a global scale or within a regional framework and they are increasingly more resolutely resisting also this form of inequality and of the limitation of the independence and sovereignty of countries.

A small number of powers and their blocs continue to strive to make decisions about the fate of the world among themselves even though the number of independent countries, liberated primarily in the anticolonial revolution, has increased enormously; countries participating in international affairs and in solving the existing problems. However, the aspirations of peoples and people to be free and independent, to decide on their own fate, to participate in the international affairs on the basis of equality are irrepressible.

Certain Important Topical Questions and Contradictions in International Relations

Today, three decades after World War II a new world is being created, a world of freedom, socialism and democratic relations between peoples and people on the basis of equality. This world is clearing the road for itself despite all opposition, difficulties and many contradictions. As an independent world factor whose role and influence in the entire development of international relations is constantly increasing, the movement of nonalinement is making an enormous contribution to these processes. Nonalined countries, which form a majority of the international community, are in the front ranks of the struggle for the political and economic emancipation of peoples and countries, for freedom, peace and security in the world, for relations between countries on the basis of equality, for building a new international economic system--for a better and more humane life of peoples and people.

Thanks to the platform and joint activity of nonalined countries and other developing countries, the really essential problems on which the general progress of the international community depends, have been moved to the center of international relations. These are the problems of peace and equal security for all countries, the questions of economic emancipation and independence, briefly, of democratization of international relations. Instead of reliance on force and the power of the blocs, it is only the equality of peoples and countries that can provide a lasting foundation for international relations. And this implies the abolition of all relations of dependence and foreign domination.

However, the contemporary international situation is very contradictory. True, considerable progress has been made in recent years in various fields of international cooperation and in changing the inherited relations, something to which precisely the nonalined countries have made a great contribution. But certain negative phenomena and tendencies, which are giving rise to the greatest concern and alarm, have also been intensified. Instead of a further expansion and deepening of the process of relaxation of international tension and of peaceful settlement of crisis hotbeds and other acute international problems--such as development and disarmament--which have been burdening international relations for a long time already, the process of relaxation is encountering great difficulties and the existing crises are being intensified and new crises are being provoked.

Contrary to the justified expectations of the world public and the majority of countries, detente in relations between the big powers is seriously lagging behind. Agreements between them are lagging, especially in the field of arms limitation, and the mutual mistrust and suspicions are reminiscent of the cold war period, which we had hoped had been left behind forever. The arms race and bloc rivalry are expanding and are being transferred to other parts of the world, especially to Africa, where certain forces are trying to preserve old or gain new spheres of influence. The doctrines, long since discredited, of tying solutions of individual crises and disputes to concessions by the other side are being revived. The policy of acting from a position of strength and of foreign interference is being continued and is increasingly oriented to nonalined and developing countries. Attempts are even being made to abuse the question of human rights, which form an integral part of general progress, as a means of bloc confrontation and interference in the internal affairs of other independent countries.

The attempt by forces of the old order to prevent or postpone inevitable changes in the existing system of unequal international economic and political relations is at the root of all this. All phenomena of this kind threaten peace and security in the world, hinder positive processes and deepen international mistrust.

I consider it necessary for all progressive and democratic forces in the world to resolutely and actively oppose confrontations and the dangers of new conflicts, for it is obvious that world peace has not been insured. The danger of war breaking out not only on a local but also on a world scale cannot be excluded. But war is not inevitable. Peace can be preserved and strengthened if all peoples of the world and all democratic and progressive forces become engaged in this to the maximum extent and jointly struggle for these goals. Peace must be preserved, because it is a condition for the existence of all of mankind, of each individual country. We live in an epoch when the world can no longer be put in order by war and when there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence but nuclear catastrophe. For this reason a great historical responsibility falls upon anyone who plays with the fate of the world for the sake of his own narrow and selfish interests and privileges at the expense of the freedom and independence of other peoples. We are convinced that there is not a single international problem that could not be solved through negotiations and agreements by peaceful means, provided that this is done on the basis of the principles of the United Nations and of other generally accepted norms of the international community.

We have always attached great importance to relations between the biggest powers, the Soviet Union, and the United States, and have supported detente between them as an essential prerequisite for the entire process of relaxation of international tension, the preservation of world peace and the development of international relations on the basis of the principles of active peaceful coexistence. [paragraph continues]

Signs of a deterioration and an increasing mutual mistrust have again become apparent in their relations recently, following a period of improvement. I will not claim that the situation is the same as it was in 1961, when the Belgrade Conference of Nonalined Countries issued an appeal to the two big powers to open dialog and negotiations. But the demand for both sides to make serious efforts to overcome the present unfavorable situation seems to me justified at the present time. This is not only in their own long-term interests--as the highest USSR and U.S. leaders themselves often emphasize--but also in the vital long-term interests of the entire international community, which desires peace in the world and sees the basic condition for the general progress of mankind only in peace. This is also their historical responsibility before the international community.

All recent developments convincingly confirm the value of the views and initiatives of the Fifth Conference of Nonalined Countries in Colombo. At that time we clearly stated--and this is of no lesser importance today--that relaxation of tension must not remain limited to relations between big powers, nor only to Europe. It must extend to all countries and regions, embrace all vital international problems, in the solving of which all countries must participate. Detente cannot be permanently based on bloc divisions or on a balance of fear from nuclear war alone, but rather must be based on the interests of peace, freedom, independence, equality and non-interference and all-comprehensive international cooperation.

The world today needs new international relations and stability in the development of peoples and countries. This presupposes elimination of sources and conditions that produce contradictions and conflicts. This is primarily a question of economic contradictions and the gap between developed and developing countries, as well as a question of the arms race as an expression of the policy of force.. For this reason virtually all the most important problems of international relations are connected in the process of relaxation of tension. We are deeply convinced that the international community has sufficient strength not to permit a relapse. Solutions for present difficulties can and must be found, naturally, inasmuch as all responsible international factors join in this effort. I believe some kind of a permanent dialog between governments and the most responsible statesmen, both on a bilateral and on a wider basis, would be very useful. The United Nations provides such possibilities, and its role should be strengthened even more, not only to reduce conflicts when they break out but also to solve acute problems concerning all the international community.

Relations in the International Workers and Progressive Movement

Relations in the workers movement and in the progressive movement in general are an inseparable part of trends in the present-day world. Different conditions of the struggle for socialism demand from the subjective forces a full creative ideological and political engagement to solve the problems and contradictions that confront them so democratic relations are needed all the more among workers, progressive parties and movements and socialist countries. These relations imply a consistent respect for the principle of equality of parties and movements, of their autonomy and of their responsibility before their own workers class and people, the principle of independence, noninterference and respect for mutual differences. The strengthening of cooperation and solidarity of the progressive forces cannot be imagined without this today. This is also a condition for the uninterrupted development of socialism as a world process.

These principles are ever more becoming a reality in the workers movement, but this does not mean that the struggle to insure complete respect for them is less needed today. Practice confirms that this positive general process is accompanied by strong resistance and by burdens from the past, and even by attempts to revert to old, obsolete relations; therefore the struggle for their full assertion in cooperation with all parties and movements continues to be one of the LCY's most important tasks.

We estimate that in recent years positive trends and tendencies have been deepened and strengthened in the workers movement. Many communist and workers parties, in Western Europe for instance, have grown into important national political forces. They are independently and creatively working out their concepts of struggle for socialism under the concrete historical conditions of the contemporary crisis of capitalist social relations. In this connection they are also opening an active dialog with other democratic and progressive forces on the basis of equality, basing their current and long-term political action on the need to preserve and deepen the democratic achievements of social development. This results in an increase in their reputation and influence in the social and political developments in their own countries and in the international field. Considered as a whole, this is a question of a progressive phenomenon, of searches for new roads in the struggle for socialism.

At the same time this confirms that the struggle for socialism will develop in various forms, in the future also, that there are no universal "models" and that no single concrete historical experience can have generally valid significance. No attempt to make one's own experience absolute or tendency to impose it on others contributes to the success of the struggle for the historical interests of the workers class or to the further affirmation of socialism as a world process.

It is also significant that social awareness of the linkage and interdependence between the development of socialist democracy and the material and spiritual development of socialist society is growing. There also is an expansion of the socioeconomic basis for strengthening the initiative and more active influence of the working people in socialist countries economically and politically. In this way opportunities for quicker development of the potentials of contemporary socialist society also are growing.

Such a positive development in the workers movement in itself encourages equality and mutual respect, and it strengthens the realization of the indispensability of mutual cooperation on democratic foundations and of the need for equal cooperation with all other democratic and progressive forces.

Cooperation by communists, socialists and social democrats on individual questions occurs in some countries. The further development of this cooperation is in the interest of the workers class and the working people whom they represent, and it is in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism. Apart from significant results in this respect there also exist, of course, great difficulties and even confrontations. One thing is beyond dispute: Such cooperation can be based only on equality and mutual respect and be accompanied by an overcoming of old mistrust and sectarianism.

However, one must bear in mind that all these positive processes in the world exist under conditions of bloc divisions and the arms race. Various threats and pressures from outside seriously hamper a more rapid and free development of democratic relations in general. Despite these and other resistances, these processes will, in our opinion, continue to develop.

We cannot close our eyes to the existence of negative tendencies. What we also see occurring is a weakening of some parties and new divisions and splits in them. Tendencies are being manifested to institutionalize relations in the workers and progressive movement. We do not approve of this, regardless of which part of the workers movement it occurs in. We believe that any reaffirmation of centers for leading the workers movement is negative, for such attempts can only slow down positive contemporary processes. Likewise, attempts to impose one's own political and ideological concepts on the parties and movements of the nonalined and other developing countries and to their right to freely determine the roads of their development. This may also lead to the introduction of bloc divisions among nonalined countries. The League of Communists and all our other sociopolitical organizations must energetically oppose such attempts.

The Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe was a great step forward in the development of their relations and cooperation on democratic foundations. This was also an important event in the struggle for peace and equal cooperation in Europe. The free and open exchange of views at this conference made possible the adoption of a document which, in our opinion, has long term-term importance. I have primarily in mind the adopted principles which form the foundation for the development of fruitful internationalist cooperation and solidarity between communist and workers parties and between all progressive forces.

The conference stimulated discussion on a number of great problems of the struggle for socialism, of mutual relations of the communist and workers parties, of their relations toward other democratic and progressive parties and movements, of the struggle of the peoples of the developing countries and other questions. I think this is a very positive thing. We have always believed--and we stressed this at the Berlin conference--that a principled public discussion on all questions of interest to communist and workers parties and the development of socialism is indispensable for the futher advancement of revolutionar theory and practice. Of course it must be constructive and it must lead to the advancement of mutual relations and not to political conflicts. We are against discussions and polemics in which various labels are attached and occurrences exceeding the limits of principled comradely discussion take place.

We hope equal discussion among workers and generally progressive parties and movements will continue to develop and embrace all socialism and for democratization of international political and economic relations. A more active engagement of all socialist and other progressive forces in insuring better international understanding of the problems of developing countries is of special importance, because the struggle of the developing countries for more rapid development, for more just and humane relations in the world, will more and more make its imprint on further revolutionary transformations. The League of Communists must pay even more attention to these questions in the coming period.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

The CSCE and its final act represent a very important achievement in the relaxation of tension because they are the product of negotiations on an equal footing and of respect for the interest of all the participants in the most vital questions of peace, security and cooperation. [paragraph continues]

At the same time this is also a long-term program for building new relations in Europe. However, since the Helsinki conference the process of relaxation of tension has been moving unevenly and contradictorily. The bloc approaches to the questions of European security and cooperation make overcoming the legacies of the past apparent in the political, economic, military and other structures of Europe more difficult. However, it is necessary to remember that this is a question of a process which came into being as an expression of the aspirations of the peoples of Europe and which can be maintained only on the basis of better mutual understanding, trust and equal cooperation.

The Belgrade meeting was held under more difficult international conditions, but despite all the difficulties, it confirmed the vitality of the Helsinki final act and succeeded in insuring the continuation of this process. Yugoslavia as the host country did everything in its power so good results could be achieved. At the same time, with its practical policy, the openness of its borders and friendly cooperation with European countries it gave an example of good cooperation and relations in Europe and served as an example of the consistent practical application of the positions adopted in Helsinki.

The Belgrade meeting was, in fact, the first check on the implementation of the final act. Any underestimation of the results of the Belgrade meeting--and there are cases of it--harms further efforts toward strengthening European security and cooperation.

Despite the fact that the nonalined and neutral countries of Europe worked at the Belgrade meeting in an atmosphere of bloc confrontation, they manifested the greatest level yet of solidarity and constructiveness. Thanks above all to their engagement, more positive positions have been reached on complex problems of the Mediterranean and other areas.

Questions on European security and cooperation must not be regarded merely as a matter for governments but for all peoples of Europe. They express the vital interests of the broadest strata, of the workers class and all progressive and democratic movements and forces in this part of the world; therefore anyone who would try to return Europe to a cold war situation by halting these processes would assume a very heavy responsibility.

Hotbeds of Crisis in the World

International relations are seriously burdened by hotbeds of crisis in the world. The Middle East crisis, at the center of which lies the Palestinian problem, is certainly the most dangerous. Israel with its aggressive and expansionist policy continues to prevent the finding of a lasting and just solution, which is insisted upon by almost all the international community. This can only be achieved through a comprehensive solving of this crisis and with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO. Such a solution inevitably presupposes complete withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to their own state, as well as insurance of the independence and security of all the states of this region. One of the essential preconditions for this is establishment of solidarity among Arab countries, for only Israel and the enemies of the Arab cause benefit from their disunity. The nonalined countries can help here with their more active participation in efforts to solve the crisis.

As regards the Cyprus crisis, it also is not being solved. Yugoslavia considers the best way to be an application of the generally accepted UN General Assembly resolution of 1974, which demands peaceful agreement between the two Cypriot national communities, accompanied by further involvement of the United Nations.

Two hotbeds of crisis are dangerous in Africa: in southern Africa and in the Horn of Africa. In southern Africa, the only correct solution is complete liquidation of the remaining strongholds of colonialism and racialism, insurance of the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe and liquidation of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. Within our limits, we offer full support and aid to the liberation movements and the United Nations to solve these problems as a most urgent matter. In the Horn of Africa it is necessary to stop armed conflicts completely and peacefully reach a solution of disputed questions, including Eritrea, on the basis of the principles of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, with respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in this region, without foreign intervention or interference. So far we have acted in line with this, and we shall continue to do so.

The Role of Nonalined Countries

The movement of nonalinement has achieved great successes primarily because it reflects the objective vital interests of mankind and because its platform includes a program of building new democratic international relations in peace, security for all and equal cooperation. As such it acts most consistently against bloc division, imperialism and all other forms of domination. Because of this the nonalined movement not only is a moral force but also is becoming an increasingly influential factor in international relations, a factor without which it is no longer possible to solve basic international problems. The movement of nonalinement has become such an international force primarily because it has known how to preserve its unity and solidarity as regards basic questions and common interests, its breadth and its progressive orientation as well as its real independence in relation to the military-political blocs of the big powers.

Today the movement of nonalinement faces difficulties and tests. Its adversaries on various sides strive to divide it and to weaken its capability for action because they see in it the main force for the multifaceted emancipation of peoples and countries. To achieve this, they do not shrink from direct pressures and attacks on their independence or from all kinds of interference in their internal affairs. Disputes and disagreements between individual nonalined countries are being exploited to fan conflicts, and we also witness wars. This is a great pity.

In the same way, differentiations and divisions on the basis of ideological, regional, religious and other motives are being encouraged from outside. These are negative and dangerous phenomena regardless of the slogans or explanations behind which their protagonists take refuge. The aim of these attempts is clear: this is an aspiration to bring about the breakup of the movement and ultimately the liquidation of the policy of nonalinement as an independent international force (and we know what a force this is: two-thirds of mankind) or a change in the character of the nonalined movement, a linking and subordination of the movement to alien interests and to the bloc policy. Those who engage in these efforts forget that nonalinement today is also a very important factor of the world equilibrium and stability that we now have. [paragraph continues]

For this reason, attempts to divide nonalined countries or to draw them into one camp also inevitably lead to a deterioration in international relations as a whole and especially in the relations between the blocs and the big powers, something which has been confirmed by some recent events. The progressive character of the policy of nonalinement is expressed in the known principles on which it is based, the aims for which it struggles and the joint activities of the nonalined countries. Their artificial division into progressive and conservative is directly aimed against this character and role of the nonalined policy.

I am firmly convinced that the nonalined countries can overcome all dangers and preserve the unity that is in the interest of each individual nonalined country and of all of them collectively. Only united can we fulfill our common aspirations and succeed in insuring that each one remains independent and autonomous in its own development. [applause] The differences and conflicts must be overcome as soon as possible, because they harm all of us.

At the conferences of the nonalined countries we pointed out more than once the necessity for disputes to be solved peacefully, in conformity with our principles. In our mutual relations we must not apply force and aggression, against which we have struggled from the very beginning as one of the greatest dangers for international relations. We must all together invest new efforts to find appropriate ways and means for peacefully solving disputes and conflicts in every case.

The ministerial conference of the nonalined countries in Belgrade must pay special attention to the overcoming of the present situation, in addition to the tasks arising from the positions and decisions of the Fifth Conference of the Nonalined Countries. The entire movement must help solve existing conflicts and disputes by peaceful means in the interest of the countries involved, of the movement as a whole and of peace and security in the several regions and the world.

For our part we shall make maximum efforts to make the ministerial conference of nonalined countries a success and a contribution to the solidarity and unity of all the nonalined countries, their action orientation and their role in international relations.

International Economic Relations

In the last few years the contradictions in international economic relations have been greatly intensified and thus this has become one of the most important and essential spheres of the struggle for economic decolonization, and against the very material basis of imperialism, neocolonialism and all forms of inequality and exploitation. Also at the 10th congress, I pointed to the unjustness and untenability of the existing system of international economic relations and to the roots of the difficult position of the developing countries. I particularly pointed out that the decisions of the sixth and the seventh special sessions of the UN General Assembly, which were devoted to the question of development and building of a new international economic system, should serve as a basis for overcoming the gap between the developed and the developing countries and for solving the acute problems of the world economy.

In the meantime, the international community has passed through serious difficulties, which have confirmed that the present system of international economic relations is totally inadequate. This system constantly reproduces relations in which the developing countries remain subordinate and bear the heaviest burden of all shocks. [paragraph continues]

In the same way it also prevents the developed countries themselves from developing on more stable and lasting foundations. Therefore, it is an indisputable fact that it is only by radically changing these relations and by establishing a new international economic system that it is possible to coordinate the interests of all factors in the world economy and to create the conditions for general prosperity and the advancement of world peace and security.

The nonalined and the developing countries have devoted exceptional attention to these questions and presented to the world a vision of international economic relations as they should be and a platform that could serve as a basis for all negotiations and the struggle for a better and happier future for the people.

However, the fact is that the developed countries as a whole have not demonstrated sufficient political will and readiness to involve themselves more significantly in solving the world economic problems, or to abandon their privileged positions and their narrow interests. This is precisely the greatest responsibility of the most developed countries. The unsatisfactory results and the stagnation in the negotiations must cause serious concern. The debts of the developing countries continue to grow. Most of these countries are facing great difficulties in their balance of payments. The prices of their exports, and of raw materials in particular, are subject to great decreases and fluctuations, while the new protectionist measures and currency manipulations affect their exports even more. At the same time, the import of industrial goods, equipment and services is becoming increasingly more expensive. This has an extremely negative effect on the developing countries and on their development plans and programs.

In contacts with world statesmen we have constantly pointed to the importance of establishing a new, more just international economic system, stressing that this is in the interest of all countries. It seems that the developed countries, in an attempt to preserve their privileged position, are too biased and simplistic in their portrayal of the situation to their people. Moreover, it is said that the new economic system would produce a worldwide redistribution of income which would provoke belt tightening in their countries, even greater unemployment, increase inflation and the like. They disregard the fact that more just, more stable international economic relations, in addition to having positive consequences for the developing countries, would open new markets with great possibilities for the sale of goods and services of the industrially developed countries. Briefly, new trade relations would develop, which must also benefit the developed countries.

Instead of the orientation toward an accelerated development, certain circles offer the developing countries the so-called satisfaction of their basic needs, which does nothing to change the bases of unequal relations, but in fact is aimed at maintaining the status quo.

I want to reiterate that the world is facing a great test in connection with these questions. More just economic relations are in the vital interests of the working class and the developed countries because the struggle against exploitation, both on the national and international level, is indivisible.

In a world of increasing interdependence, the economic policy of each individual country or groups of countries also has broader international consequences. For this reason it is indispensable that all countries, regardless of differences in their socioeconomic systems, should most actively participate and contribute to solving international economic problems. [paragraph continues]

The new international economic system also implies the development and expansion of economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves. Great results have been achieved in this respect, but they are far from what is necessary and possible. The development strategy of the developing countries relies primarily on every country's own forces and on the broadest possible economic and other cooperation among these countries--bilateral, regional and multiregional cooperation. This is a vital element of their struggle for a new international economic system. The action programs of the nonalined and the developing countries should be implemented even more rapidly and comprehensively and their solidarity and cooperation in the common struggle for new international relations should be constantly strengthened.

Problem of Disarmament

Disarmament is one of the most important problems and is very closely linked with the overall development of international relations, particularly from the viewpoint of international peace and security. Thanks primarily to the activity of the nonalined countries, there is a growing conviction in the world that international peace and security cannot be constantly maintained on the basis of an equilibrium of force, military power and a system of alliances.

The arms race is increasingly assuming global proportions, and it can be said that there are few countries that this race has not affected in one way or another. However, the basic imprint on this arms race, which is becoming increasingly more dangerous because of the introduction of new even more lethal arms systems, is made by the arms competition of the biggest military powers, the nuclear powers in particular, and the military blocs in general.

The past efforts by the international community in the field of disarmament and of halting the arms race have not yielded satisfactory results. For years this problem has been at a standstill. For this reason the nonalined countries--at our initiative--proposed convening a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which also won the unanimous support of other UN countries. Today disarmament cannot be an affair of the big powers and blocs alone. The entire international community is interested in halting the arms race, which is increasingly absorbing the enormous material, economic and human potential both of developed and developing countries. Of course, general and total disarmament under effective international control continues to be the ultimate goal to which one must aspire.

The holding of the UN special session on disarmament represents a very significant step in a number of attempts to begin resolving this problem--one of the key problems of the contemporary world--in a way that, while respecting the existing realities, will gradually lead to general and total disarmament. This also is an opportunity to assess, within the United Nations and with the participation of all countries, the current state of the disarmament problem, the balance sheet of the past negotiations, the consequences and dangers of the arms race for the process of relaxation of tension and for the economic and social development of the international community in general. The special session by itself strengthens the UN's role in the field of disarmament, particularly if disarmament measures are adopted which will open real disarmament processes.

Yugoslavia's Foreign Political Activity

In the period since the 10th LCY Congress, we have achieved great success in our foreign political activity. With its active and consistent foreign policy, which is based on the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference and the right of every country and people to independent development, Yugoslavia has tried not only to strengthen its own security and consolidate its independent position in international relations, but also so contribute, to the greatest possible extent, to strengthening peace and security throughout the world. We have developed and promoted on an equal basis the bilateral cooperation with most countries in all regions. We have made a significant contribution to the activity of the nonalined movement, the work of the United Nations, the CSCE and to other activities, to strengther mutual confidence among peoples and countries, to overcome the bloc divisions and create new and more just international relations. We have continued to assist and support the liberation movements for the most successful and complete elimination of colonialism and every outside subordination of peoples and countries. We have contributed to the solution of hotbeds of tension and other international problems, primarily on the basis of nonalinement, but also indirectly whenever we are able to do this.

The reputation that socialist and nonalined Yugoslavia acquired with its principled and engaged foreign policy is such that our country represents a very active and influential factor in international relations, whose voice and view is increasingly heard and respected.

We are constantly expanding the exchange of views with the responsible statesmen and governments of the big powers and with many other states. Valuing our experiences, they frequently seek our views on the solution of burning questions. For a relatively small country such as Yugoslavia this is a great recognition of its international policy. However, this also entails an obligation to continue to work like this in the future, whenever we believe that it is necessary to set forth our views and to help in overcoming disputes and conflicts and to resolve outstanding problems in a principled and peaceful manner.

Our cooperation with the socialist countries is very developed and fruitful. This cooperation is constantly increasing, it is being constantly promoted in the spirit of the principles that we have always advocated in the relations among the socialist countries. Likewise, Yugoslavia's cooperation with the West is developing successfully, on the basis of mutual respect and mutual interest.

However, certain problems concerning economic cooperation with the EEC countries have become more acute. On our part, we are making all the necessary efforts to resolve these problems, and we expect the same from our partners.

Our country's friendly relations with the nonalined and other developing countries are based on common views and the common struggle to realize the goals adopted at the conference of the nonalined and developing countries. These relations are developing on the basis of solidarity, understanding and trust. We must strive to advance even more the economic, scientific, cultural and other forms of cooperation with these countries, for these on the whole lag behind the political relations.

We have paid exceptional attention to relations with the neighboring countries, which has always been one of the priorities of our foreign policy. Taken as a whole, these relations have developed quite successfully. The conclusion of the Osimo agreements with Italy takes a special place in the development of neighborly relations and constitutes an example of the strengthening of trust and rapprochement between countries and peoples, as well as an example of a successful implementation of the Helsinki final act. Cooperation with some neighboring countries would have been even more successful had their governments been more willing to solve some unsolved questions, especially those that concern the position of our national minorities. It is now known all over the world that Yugoslavia conducts a policy of full equality of the peoples and nationalities. We justly expect that the national rights of those peoples of Yugoslavia who live in other countries will be respected. We view the national minorities as factors of ties, mutual understanding and neighborly cooperation. We view the attitude taken toward them as a yardstick of relations toward our peoples and our country in general.

The thought and the practice of the LCY is a component part of the process of the socialist transformation of the world. Open to all currents of progressive Marxist thought, the league of communists is a very involved participant in the struggle for progressive social transformations in the world. The LCY makes its contribution to the realization of the historical mission of the workers class above all with the development of socialist self-management in our society as well as with its struggle to strengthen, on a democratic basis, the cooperation and solidarity of all social and political forces that struggle for peace, democracy, progress and socialism.

We are in the front ranks of the struggle of the socialist forces in the world. Within the limits of our possibilities, we extend comprehensive support to all the democratic, progressive and liberation aspirations of peoples and countries. The LCY maintains broad and fruitful cooperation with the communist, socialist, social democratic and other progressive parties and movements. We will continue this cooperation in the future. [applause] The LCY's experiences and achievements make themselves felt in the progressive social and political processes in the world. These processes constantly confirm the correctness of our orientation.

With a consistent policy of nonalinement and equal cooperation we have strengthened Yugoslavia's position and security. Our country's international position is now firmer than ever before. Naturally, this is not only the result of a successful foreign policy but also of a very stable internal situation and the strength of the Yugoslav social being. Our foreign and domestic policies are interrelated because they are based on identical principles, among which the most important is the equality of our peoples and nationalities. We can pursue a successful foreign policy only on the basis of the constant promotion of socialist social relations, founded on self-management and the further development of socialist democracy. Accordingly, our foreign political activity is developing on the broadest possible foundations and our working people have the decisive say in this field. Our working people are therefore in every respect the masters of their destiny and independent development, and for this reason, various conjectures about the future of Yugoslavia appear all the more senseless. It will remain as we have built and as its peoples and nationalities are building. (applause)

II. Material Development of Socioeconomic Relations

In the period between the two congresses, our socialist community continued to successfully develop its material basis and to more and more completely and consistently promote socialist self-management relations. As a result of the efforts by the workers class and the working peasants, and of the activity of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces, we have been yearly achieving great results both in material and social development. This development is the best confirmation of the correctness of our path and of the unwavering orientation toward self-managing socialism.

Basic Results of Development Between the Two Congresses

Industry, above all, successfully developed as a basic and leading element in overall economic development. It continues to develop rapidly. In the past 4 years, industrial production increased by one third, so that it now yields more in a month than it used to yield 30 years ago in a whole year. This was constantly accompanied by changes toward more modern technology and equipment and of increasingly more skilled and expert labor. We now produce high quality products of various kinds, which satisfy the growing needs of our people and also, to a great extent, the demands of the world market.

We are achieving extraordinary results in agriculture, too. On the basis of very high yields last year we achieved a record production of corn, sugar beets and sunflowers, as well as a high production of wheat. Our agriculturists are now able to produce enough basic products to feed our people, as well as considerable quantities for export, for our country possesses the great natural wealth necessary for the advancement of agriculture. We also have enough capable agriculturists and experts, our own good agricultural machinery, developed agricultural chemistry and significant other production capacities in social and private farms. All this, along with the further development of self-managing relations, constitutes a good foundation for an even more successful development of agriculture and the countryside.

Good results were also achieved in a number of other economic and social activities, such as in construction, tourism, transportation, as well as in education, health and so forth. With much effort and even self-denial by our working people, new schools, hospitals and other public projects are being completed, and roads and railways and other economic projects are daily being modernized and newly constructed.

The constant strengthening of the material basis--the number of employed increased by almost 850,000 in the past 4 years--contributed to a better and richer life for our people. Their purchasing power increased almost 25 percent. The mass production of goods and the supply of the markets increasingly meet our citizens' needs. In terms of the selection and quality of the goods offered in our shops, we now do not lag much behind the developed part of the world.

In the past period our society also achieved great successes in raising the general level of knowledge and skill of the working people. The skilled workers and experts, who now constitute over 60 percent of those employed, have an increasingly important place and role. Their knowledge and abilities, along with an increasing employment of modern technology and equipment, in many of our collectives produce results similar to those achieved in more developed economies. [paragraph continues]

In some fields of science and other areas of creativity, top results have been achieved. It is sufficient to recall the exceptional results of our agricultural institutes in producing new types of wheat, corn and sunflower seeds, which return record yields rarely achieved anywhere in the world. We have also achieved notable successes in construction techniques as well as in some other fields. Therefore, it is no accident that many of our organizations successfully work abroad, carry out construction operations, advance agricultural production and so forth.

Such rapid development and comprehensive progress has been achieved in all our republics and provinces. The less developed republics and Kosovo achieve their accelerated development through the efforts of the working people of those regions and with the aid of the entire community.

We can also be satisfied with the realization of the basic tasks set at the 10th congress for the further development of socioeconomic relations on the basis of self-management. Qualitative changes have been achieved in this area. Workers in associated labor now more and more completely and successfully attain the position of free and equal managers of their labor and of the conditions and results of their work. The constitution and the associated labor law have become a strong weapon in their struggle against the continued resistance to the development of self-management, against technocratism and bureaucracy and other similar tendencies and occurrences opposed to self-management and social ownership. This resistance, these tendencies and phenomena are now being more easily and successfully overcome, and the self-managing position of the workers strengthens continuously.

The decisionmaking by workers in the basic organizations of associated labor, concerning the rights that inalienably belong to them, has been strongly affirmed on this basis. By expressing their opinions personally and through their delegations and delegates, they directly regulate their mutual relations in work and in various forms of the association of labor and pooling of resources. Income as the basis of their material position and their socioeconomic and other self-managing rights increasingly stimulates economic decision making, the self-managing association of labor and pooling of resources and the coordination of work and development plans. Through a free exchange of the labor of the workers in material production with the workers in social activities, these activities also join more and more in a unifed system of associated labor. In this way the mediation of the state in these relations is being increasingly eliminated.

Self-managing agreements and social accords have likewise been strongly asserted as a form of democratic coordination of various interests, as a form of common and equitable decisionmaking. On this basis, and particularly through accords between the republics and provides, the most complex questions of common interest to all our peoples and nationalities are being successfully resolved. This strengthens their equality, brotherhood and unity and contributes to the development of our socialist self-managing community.

The achieved level of socialist self-managing relations and of the production forces in the country allows us to proceed even more successfully. We have all the conditions to further develop our socioeconomic and political system, to develop a modern economy and to raise the standard of living of our working people higher and higher.

Naturally, this will not be easy. It will continue to demand the efforts of all our working people, a comprehensive engagement of communists and of all other subjective socialist forces. We will face various difficulties and problems in the future as well. Overcoming these difficulties and problems will primarily depend on ourselves. If we do everything that should be done, then successes will not be missing.

In this respect we must draw lessons from the past, for we have not completely accomplished all the tasks we set at the 10th congress. We have not accomplished these tasks because in this period we made mistakes and repeated some errors--mainly subjective ones--even though we frequently called attention to them. Certain very pressing economic problems we must now resolve could have been less acute and complex had there not been mistakes and repetition of errors.

Improvement of Labor Productivity--A Key Question of Further Progress

Thus our society has all the conditions for a more rapid improvement of labor productivity, yet we have nevertheless had in recent years cases of slowing down and of stagnation in this respect. To a great extent this is a result of the weaknesses we could have eliminated. A constant improvement of labor productivity is the only real basis for overall economic growth, for strengthening the material and social position of every individual and for successfully solving many essential problems of societal development. Our self-managing system, the achieved level of labor's technical tools as well as capable cadres provided all the possibilities for us to make greater progress in this respect. But we failed to utilize this, which we must not allow in the future, because a lag in improving labor productivity is becoming an obstacle to further comprehensive development.

Of course, labor productivity does not only depend on the situation and relations in working collectives. It also depends on the overall level of social organization of economic life, efficient decisionmaking, agreements and especially on consistent implementation of what has been agreed on. In our daily practice there is quite a considerable amount of slowness and failures to implement what has been agreed on; there is also behavior and work that follow the old ways. Joint agreements must assume the power of law. Together with full responsibility, this must become a rule of behavior for everyone--from workers in basic organizations to organs of the federation.

In order to stimulate higher labor productivity we face the task of promoting the system of distribution according to work to insure it provides the main incentive both for productivity and for successful management and efficient business operations in general. A great deal is now being done in this connection. But here, too, we must more energetically overcome opposition and eliminate weaknesses. We must not tolerate any wage levelling just as we must not allow any unjustified differences that are not backed by the appropriate work contributions and that turn into privileges at the expense of others. We must end these tendencies and phenomena. They provoke justified discontent among the workers and damage us socially and politically.

Large reserves for improving labor productivity lie in the association of labor and resource pooling in utilizing the advantages of the unity of the Yugoslav market and in advancing the system of socialist self-managing planning. For this purpose we must resolutely struggle against all forms of closed operations and autarky either with regard to individual organizations or to sociopolitical communities. We must energetically eliminate all obstacles to the self-managing association of labor and pooling of resources. This must be our constant concern and one of our basic tasks.

The development plans and programs must be realistic and economically justified and must take into account both the interests of the organizations of associated labor and the individual sociopolitical communities and interests of society as a whole. For this purpose it is necessary for work organizations and sociopolitical communities to coordinate their plans on the basis of self-management and strictly adhere to what t'·y have agreed on.

We continue to invest a great deal, which is good. However, it is not good that there are also unprofitable investments that do not promise any sales in domestic and foreign markets. Unjustified duplication of production capacities and other uneconomical investments usually take place when decisions are made that bypass workers--that is, those who will in fact feel the consequences of this most directly. In this situation it is not surprising th·t our production capacities are insufficiently utilized; that some organizatior have problems in marketing their products; that they operate with losses; that they are piling up stocks, and so forth. All this reduces the productivity of social labor and the possibilities for our overall progress.

In order to prevent and eliminate these and other investment shortcomings, we must utilize to a greater extent self-managing agreements and social accords on development programs and on the division of labor within the country. It is necessary to take into account the fact that changing the economic structure can be successfully realized not only by building new projects but also by refurbishing, expanding and modernizing existing ones. It is always necessary to judge well when it is suitable to follow this path and when it is necessary to build new production capacities. In this connection we must not be guided by temporary market demands. We must constantly keep in mind the need for such a development as well as insure the most rapid progress of our society and a better life for the working man.

We must also persist in our attempts to insure a responsible attitude toward work and social resources and a better use of worktime and social resources in general. Promotion of knowledge, application of scientific-technical achievements and adaptation of scientific research to economic needs are of special importance. Innovations and rationalization must be encouraged as much as possible. It is precisely in our system that they can and must find a stronger expression.

With the fulfillment of the tasks related to improving labor productivity and efficient business operations it is easier then to resolve those problems that are now disrupting our economic situation and making it more difficult. I have in mind primarily two exceptionally important current problems: unfavorable trends in foreign economic relations and the slow overcoming of certain vital causes undermining the stability of economic trends in our country.

The Struggle for More Stable and Harmonious Economic Trends

Up to now we have continued to devote our attention to developing our foreign economic relations and to strengthening stability in domestic economic trends, bearing in mind their importance for our general material and social development. We have continued to take measures to prevent negative tendencies in these relations. We have had a certain success in this connection, but we have not done all that we should have. It is here that we have been least successful in implementing the tasks of the 10th congress.

The problems in foreign economic relations are in some part the consequence of objective circumstances and of certain eternal factors. As a developing country, we have a great need for imports that we are not as yet able to cover with economically suitable exports. For this reason we are compelled to a certain extent to incur foreign debts and deal with a balance of payments deficit for some time to come. But this deficit must be kept within certain limits. However, the tendencies in the foreign economic exchange have not been favorable, especially in the past and current years. If we fail to suppress these tendencies, we will face many new difficulties, something which would seriously delay our development.

The causes for this lie partly in the slow down of economic activities abroad, in the protectionist closing of individual markets, in the manipulations with currency exchange rates and in other similar phenomena--all of which makes our exports more difficult and increases the costs of our imports. But, as I have already said, the causes lie also in our own shortcomings, which we must continue to eliminate more energetically.

We already faced certain shortcomings in the system of foreign economic relations earlier and for this reason we have provided new solutions in a series of laws that should contribute to eliminating these shortcomings. The essence of the changes lies in the fact that important affairs and responsibilities are transferred from the state administration to the organs of associated labor; that it is insured that they will act jointly and in an organized way in foreign markets; that the republics and provinces have more direct responsibility for the country's balance of payments. This will be an important means in eliminating shortcomings in this system.

Naturally, this is not all that must be done because many difficulties and problems in this sphere result from other causes. For example, we have become too oriented to production that depends on imports and foreign technology and thus we import even what we ourselves could produce economically and efficiently. We have concluded that we will change the production structure for this reason, among others, but we are implementing these conclusions more slowly than we could and should. There must be a decisive turn in this respect in our production and investment orientation. It is also necessary to promote and develop our own technology.

This does not mean in any way that we will shut ourselves in regarding the world market. On the contrary, we must take every advantage of our participation in the international division of labor. This is an essential condition for our development. But in this connection it is necessary to examine very thoroughly our foreign trade orientation, from market to market, and in relation to the policies of other countries as well. The greater part of our foreign trade is now linked to the Western market; in this connection, we do not always meet with sufficient understanding from our biggest partners and thus our deficit in this area is almost unbearable. We must look after our long-term interests and must orient ourselves to a greater extent to those markets in which we can cover most of our imports by exports. We must give particular attention to developing economic cooperation with the developing countries, where not all possibilities have been exhausted by far.

Naturally, to be successful in any foreign market, we must be competitive. A paramount condition for this is a constant increase in productivity--the aim being to reduce the differences in relation to the developed economies so as to constantly reduce the amount of our income that flows to foreign countries. Some of our organizations have achieved productivity that has enabled them to successfully penetrate the international market. This, however, should be done by an increasingly greater part of our economy.

However, on the basis of present productivity we should already have been able to achieve a considerably greater competitiveness on the world market had we more settled relations in our economy. Many difficulties in the economic relations with foreign countries, particularly in exports, result because domestic prices and production costs are rising under conditions of inflation; because some plants are not utilized; because the economy is burdened with great obligations; because our general and common expenditures are excessive. Exaggerated investment ambitions also put pressure on prices and the balance of payments. We must wage a resolute struggle against all this.

Although certain foreign factors disturbed our economy's stability, domestic causes were decisive. These causes are to be found primarily in the remnants of old relations in our system that have not yet been overcome and in the behavior of many people that does not suit the nature of socialist self-managing relations. It still occurs that new relations are established only formally. Real decisions, particularly on earnings and income distribution, are frequently adopted without consulting workers in the basic organizations, or only with their formal agreement without fully informing them about the real meaning and consequences of the pertinent decisions. Thus decisionmaking is separated from direct economic responsibility for the adopted decisions, whereas linking decisionmaking and responsibility is precisely the basis for the effectiveness of the self-management system. Hence also excessive consumption at the expense of the economy's reproductive capability, a transfer of business risks to the society as a whole and other phenomena that provoke inflation and price increases.

Under inflation conditions, for instance, the income of the organizations of associated labor depends more on uncontrolled price trends and on measures of organs of the socio-political communities than on productivity and a correct production orientation. This weakens the workers' interest in earning their personal incomes on the principles of distribution according to work and it encourages the tendencies toward a levelling of income. Under such conditions long-term planning is also lacking. Decisions that objectively have a long-term effect are frequently adopted on the basis of momentary situations and short-term calculations. For this reason inflation is a great evil which must be resolutely suppressed, or rather, at least, it must be reduced to an extent that makes possible the necessary social control over the basic trends of social reproduction.

Naturally, in the past we have not surrendered to the uncontrolled force of inflation. Certain measures and actions were taken, which have yielded positive results. Despite many pressures to increase prices, we have succeeded in keeping this increase within certain limits. Owing primarily to the self-managing forces in associated labor and to the activity of the conscious socialist forces, as well as to the measures of economic policy, there has been no broad chain reaction of negative tendencies which result from inflation. The law on associated labor, in particular, gave an impetus to bringing about a positive orientation of the workers.

Thus the practice of self-management has demonstrated that a strengthening of the self-managing position of workers and the development of the system of socialist relations in general are the only correct solution. Not only does it suppress the outside manifestations of disturbed relations but it also removes their basic causes.

It is obvious that the causes of the negative effect on stability cannot be changed overnight. It is also necessary to change the material relations and this requires both time and effort.

Therefore, our basic task is to bring about in practice as completely as possible such a self-managing position of workers as laid down by the constitution and the law on associated labor as the basis of our entire socialist self-managing system. The implementation of this task and the resolute suppression of all resistance must be primarily the work of the workers themselves, while the communists must lead this struggle.

Workers in the basic organizations also must, in their own and in the general interest, associate their work and pool their resources with the work and resources of other organizations. However, the decisionmaking on joint work and on pooled resources must also remain in their hands. In this connection, it is also necessary for workers to regulate their mutual rights, obligations and responsibilities on a self-managing basis. This is of decisive importance for the successful development of the process of expanded reproduction and for the workers' control over all this process. Therefore, we must make resolute efforts for a consistent implementation of the constitutional principles of past labor.

In this connection, it is indispensable also to carry out radical changes in the field of credit, banking and the monetary system, where the decisionmaking on income and social resources in general is still removed from the workers. We must not delay these changes any longer.

The workers' control of the overall income means that the allocation of a part of income to meet the common and general needs must be under their control. True, the constitution has authorized the sociopolitical communities to establish the obligation for allocating funds for common and general social needs. However, they can only do so if it does not jeopardize the role of associated labor as the basic protagonist of expanded reproduction. However, this condition is not being sufficiently respected and the economy is burdened by various obligations above the limit laid down by the constitution. In future we must take strict care that the personal, common and general expenditures remain within the limits of our possibilities, that they are not made at the expense of the economy's reproductive capability. The more the increase in income is based on increased productivity, the easier it will be for us to solve this task.

The increase in productivity, therefore, also represents here, just as in the solution of problems of economic relations with foreign countries, a vital prerequisite for successfully achieving the necessary harmony in social reproduction. This great task must become the first concern of all of us.

Naturally, in future we must devote the necessary attention to the problem of employment. In this respect the basic tasks we set at the 10th congress have already been implemented. However, unemployment continues to be a serious economic, social and political problem, which we must resolve in an organized and systematic manner. We have the possibilities for this. However, these possibilities must be primarily used to employ production workers and not to increase the number of administrative personnel, which has greatly increased lately. Special attention should be paid to employing young skilled workers and experts. (applause)

In recent years, 60,000 to 80,000 workers have returned annually from temporary employment abroad. It is good that our workers are returning. We also desire this. However, we must make even greater efforts to employ them to make it possible to use the knowledge and experience they have acquired in modern factories abroad. [paragraph continues]

It is also important that we create the conditions for our workers to invest as economically as possible the savings they have earned through hard work abroad. The sociopolitical communities, particularly communes, have great interest in and responsibility for this. With joint activity in this field, particularly the pooling of resources, certain problems of development in the underdeveloped communes could be more rapidly and effectively resolved.

In the future we must more rapidly create conditions for the development of handicrafts and other kinds of service activities in which we now have a shortage. In this connection, we must overcome the view that there is danger to socialism in all private work. Of course, it is necessary to suppress the negative phenomena and behavior that arise in this field.

When the expansion of possibilities for employment is involved, it is necessary to bear in mend the potential offered by a correct policy of transforming agriculture and the rural areas. Naturally, our primary task in the development of agriculture must continue to be promotion of large-scale, highly productive output on socially owned farms. However, at the same time it is necessary to create conditions for promoting production in the private sector of agriculture, primarily be means of cooperatives and production cooperation. It is necessary to build even more rapidly small processing plants, handicraft workshops, tourist facilities and so forth in rural settlements. All this will positively influence an increase in the employment of the rural population and reduce the pressure on employment in cities.

Solving the topical problems I have particularly spoken about and executing all other tasks of our material and social development must proceed primarily in priority directions of development in all fields. In this connection it is indispensable to consistently implement the policy of a more rapid development of the underdeveloped republics, the Province of Kosovo in particular. In past development of these areas, a significant material base--infrastructure projects, industrial and other production plants and a considerable potential of skilled and professional cadres--has been created. This guarantees that in the coming period, with the efforts of the working people of these areas and with the assistance of the whole community--particularly by broader association and linkage of the economy of the developed regions and these regions--further successes in their more rapid development will be achieved.

III. Political System Self-Managing Democracy

After the 10th congress, the LCY paid great attention to questions of the practical functioning and perfecting of our sociopolitical system, our socialist self-managing democracy. I would primarily like to stress that in this period we have successfully implemented the transformation of the political system in accordance with the development of self-managing production relations. We began this process in 1971 with the constitutional amendments. With the adoption of the SFRY Constitution new forms of political decisionmaking have been determined in accordance with our revolutionary goals and achievements. With the law on associated labor and with other laws pertaining to the system the broadest possible possibilities have been created for practical implementation of the ruling position of the workers class and the working people in social reproduction, in carrying out functions of authority and in managing other social tasks.

Delegate System--the Basis and Form of Direct Socialist Democracy

The direct participation of the working people and citizens in solving all social questions represents the essence of our socialist self-managing democracy. We are implementing this primarily through the delegate system. This system makes it possible for the initiative of millions of people to be expressed as a creative social force. The breadth of the direct participation of the working people in decisionmaking on social affairs, through the delegate system, is best illustrated by the fact that nearly 2.5 million citizens were elected at recent elections for members of delegations. If we also take into account the members of the organs of self-management in organizations in associated labor and in work communities, it can be said that over 3 million working people are engaged in our delegate system, while practically all working people and citizens are involved in personally stating their views in one way or another. This is an example without precedent in the history of political systems. Real conditions have been created to put an end once and for all to man's alienation from political decisionmaking--conditions making it possible for every working man really to manage society.

The political system of self-managing democracy insures that a multitude of different needs and interests is expressed--of man as an individual, of his immediate community and of society as a whole--needs and interests that are the consequence of the social division of labor, of different conditions of operations and of other objective circumstances. At the same time this system insures that these self-managing interests are democratically coordinated on a general socialist foundation and that they are incorporated in the adopted decisions in the best possible way. Thus the necessary integration in society is implemented through the delegate system in a self-managing and democratic manner.

Man's position in socioeconomic relations and in the delegate system essentially also changes his social role and awareness. In socialist self-managing democracy man becomes the basic factor, the creator in society. He assesses his material and other possibilities and sets for himself realistic aims and tasks that are consistent with his needs and interests and with the material, cultural and total social development. Thus, these aims are motivated neither by profit nor by any "higher" administrative-technocratic "aims" but rather by real human aspirations. The working man also becomes aware of his decisive role in all affairs of society and in society's entire development. It is on this basis that real human freedoms and rights are realized and expressed.

In building the socialist self-managing society, we do not aspire to some unattainable, imagined aims and tasks but rather want man himself to insure those conditions of life that are in accord with the level of social and material development, to comprehensively develop his creative abilities and to truly live like a human being.

Of course, we do not claim that everything functions flawlessly in our system and that all problems have been solved also in practice in those areas where we have regulated affairs by the constitution. On the occasion of the adoption of the constitution and the law on associated labor and on other occasions I said that the legal regulation of social relations does not on its own provide ready-made solutions. We were aware of the fact that the process of implementing the constitution and the law would not be easy, without difficulty or without opposition. The difficulties primarily exist in a still insufficiently developed material basis of society, in a lack of experience, a continuation of old practices and also in ideological lagging by some working people and some communists. The the opposition of various antiself-managing forces is also still apparent.

First of all bureaucratic-technocratic forces are persistently striving to preserve their positions. In the new conditions they frequently formally harmonize organizational forms with the principles of the self-managing democratic system while at the same time they endeavor to insure the old or to establish new ruling positions for themselves. Bureaucratism and technocratism are a very tenacious and resistant malady of contemporary society which has its roots both in the objective conditions of the development of production forces and in the subjective aspirations to preserve privileged and monopolistic positions in society. For this reason it is not in any way an accident that the class enemy and various nationalist, dogmatist and other antiself-managing forces hide behind bureaucratic-technocratic forces. We must struggle against them. Our most powerful weapon is consistent implementation of all forms and all the substance of our socialist self-managing democracy. This does not mean that where the opponents of self-management act as organized enemies of our self-managing development we will not use, among other things, administrative measures.

Naturally we also must not tolerate our own shortcomings and weaknesses. We must strive to insure that there are as few as possible and that we overcome them as quickly as possible; this is particularly so because the weaknesses which in fact result from our inconsistency in implementing the system are often ascribed to the self-managing system itself. We will eliminate these weaknesses most quickly through creative action by all working people. The delegate system is both the road and the means to realizing this goal. It has confirmed itself so far through the results of the first mandate period of our delegations and delegate assemblies.

When the delegate system was introduced it was feared that delegations and delegates might succumb to the pressures of partial and local interests. It cannot be said that there have been no such instances, but practice has shown that partial interests do not prevail wherever delegate relations are really established. Considered as a whole, delegations and delegates have demonstrated full understanding in their attitude toward the necessity of coordinating various interests in their decisionmaking.

Certain weaknesses in the functioning of the delegate system to date must not be overlooked. Above all, the influence of associated labor's delegations has not as yet found sufficient expression in delegate assemblies. The work of some assemblies is being formalized by the fact that the decisionmaking process is being reduced to a mere adoption of decisions. I will cite only one example: Despite all warnings, the allotment of resources for certain social activities continues to grow in excess of all our real possibilities. This shows that associated labor still does not play the decisive role, particularly in assemblies of self-managing interest communities.

A successful functioning of the self-managing delegate system requires a close and continuous link between members of delegations and individual delegates and the working people and citizens with whom they work and live each day, especially a close and continuous link between the individual delegate and his delegation. It is from this direct knowledge and contact that delegations and delegates derive their orientation and directions for their views in the assemblies and in other self-managing organs and are thus really in a position to directly express the will and the interests of the working people who elected them. But this mutual link between delegates and their base is often not realized, and thus some delegates speak only on their own behalf and behave in the same way as in the representative system.

A constant link between delegations and delegates and the working people and citizens must represent the basis for controlling the activity of delegations and delegates, for appraising their work and responsibility as well as for appraising the work and responsibility of the self-managing and executive organs in making and carrying out decisions. It happens that the adopted decisions are not in accord with the real needs and interests of the working people, and even more often it happens that the decisions adopted in a self-managing manner are not carried out. In instances of this kind it is necessary to raise the question of responsibility, both of the delegates and of the self-managing organs concerned. The question of responsibility in general is one of the essential questions in the functioning of the delegate system. Occurrences of irresponsibility cannot be passed over. No one can be exempt from criticism, but naturally criticism must be concrete and principled. It must not aim at discrediting the individual person or the work and results of the self-managing communities. It is in accordance with his tasks and authority that everyone must bear his share of responsibility, involving also the appropriate social sanctions.

The development of democratic relations in the local community and the commune is essential for the development of socialist self-managing democracy in general and of the delegate system in particular. Through various forms of direct agreements, accords and decision-making, the local community must become the basic self-managing community of people within which they make decisions on a number of questions of their daily life and work. This local community which is increasingly asserting itself in practice, together with the basic organization of associated labor, forms the basis of the entire system of socialist self-managing democracy. For this reason it is necessary to insure that the further development of local communities will be a basic area of activities of the socio-political organizations.

Proceeding from the self-managing practice in their local community, the working people and citizens relate through their delegations and delegates to the working people of other local and self-managing communities and determine and coordinate their common needs and interests primarily within the commune and then also within higher sociopolitical communities.

This mutual association of various self-managing subjective factors within the commune has not been sufficiently realized until now and because of this the commune has not developed sufficiently as a unified self-managing community. The participation of basic organizations of associated labor in the self-managing life of the commune is especially important in this respect. If they, as the factors of income interested in insuring as broad an association within the process of reproduction as is possible, exercise a corresponding influence on the policy of the commune, in this way they will also act against still existing localistic narrowmindedness. Developed as a place where relations are regulated and all the essential production, communal, social, cultural and other problems of life and work of the working people and citizens are solved, the commune will grow into the type of human community about which Marx said that the political form of the economic liberation of labor had finally been found. When it is fully developed, the commune represents the best form and basis for the broadest self-managing democratic association of the working people in resolving those questions of joint and general interest that can be resolved or -and, according to the constitution, are being resolved--within the province, the rep ic and the federation.

The self-managing rights and positions of the working people and citizens and the equality of peoples and nationalities are the foundation and framework for the activity of the state organs. For this reason the position and the role of the state and its organs is changing under the conditions of self-management. What we call the withering away of the state is being realized through delegate assemblies and through an ever wider practice of solving individual questions, which may have been regulated by law until now, through self-managing agreements and social accords of the working people and their self-managing communities. Wherever the decision of the state organs is necessary--and this still is and will be necessary for a long time to come in regulating the general conditions of work and life--this decision is in fact made as an expression of the needs and interests of associated labor and of society as a whole. In this manner the state is becoming an instrument in the hands of the working people in establishing socialist self-managing relations.

The organs of state administration, especially the executive organs, must not only be subject to direct influence and control by delegate assemblies--as is stipulated by the constitution, too--but must also open themselves more than they have done until now to direct democratic influence and control by the working people and citizens and their social and political organizations. This at the same time is also the best barrier to their bureaucratization. This certainly also requires that, in solving current questions, these organs themselves take the necessary measures to eliminate instances of any administrative-bureaucratic attitude toward citizens.

Self-managing democracy cannot be complete without the establishment of equal and democratic relations among peoples and nationalities, without the right of each individual people and nationality to its free and autonomous cultural, economic and political development. For this reason every attempt of nationalist egoism and domination, either in the form of unitarianism or in the form of separatism, is contrary to national equality and to the system of self-managing democracy. Self-management has introduced new elements into international relations and into the very concept of national equality. It brings a new and different socioeconomic and democratic substance to these relations.

Being economically and politically equal, the republics and provinces are realizing their mutual cooperation not only as state communities but also as self-managing subjective factors. Their mutual relations are increasingly characterized precisely by that which represents the essence of self-management in general, that is, freedom, equality, mutual interdependence, responsibility and solidarity. For this reason our peoples and nationalities today are even more united and the cohesion of our federal community is stronger than ever before. Let us only recall the recent past when the nationalist forces tried to undermine intranational relations and turn the self-managing course of our development towards bourgeois nationalism, separatism or bureaucratic centralism, precisely because they saw in this self-managing course of development the greatest obstacle to their aims. We resolutely overcame these threats to the further self-managing development of our federal community and even more strengthened the equality, brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities. This naturally does not mean that there is nothing left to be improved and further developed in this sphere.

The accords among republics and provinces have eliminated many previous disagreements and conflicts in the field of economic and political relations. However, further efforts are needed to insure that the accords and agreements among republics and provinces are more efficient and that they are not protracted. Any delay of necessary solutions is harmful. We must endeavor to improve and perfect the methods of mutual accords and agreements in order to insure the more successful coordination of interests.

I particularly want to emphasize that there must be no weakening of vigilance for instances of a revival of bureaucratic centralism both in the federation and in the republics and provinces or in relation to any tendencies of localistic narrow-mindedness. These phenomena suit various nationalist ideologies, and nationalism is the ambush behind which various class enemies and other reactionary and antiself-managing forces hide and work. The strengthening of cooperation, agreements and accords between republics and provinces is the most effective weapon in this struggle against the nationalist and other forces which pull [society] backwards. An all-comprehensive development of all forms of self-managing association of the associated labor and other self-managing subjective factors of different republics and provinces in solving the questions of mutual interests is especially important.

Our socialist self-managing democracy emanates from the socialist production relations based on self-managment. The socioeconomic position of the worker within the associated labor, his right to **decide** for himself on the means, conditions and results of his work, is the basis and condition for self-managing, democratic relations. And at the same time, the delegate self-managing system insures the development of socialist self-managing production relations. The socioeconomic position of man and the delegate system of decisionmaking on social affairs are two aspects, two inseparable characteristics of the position, rights and freedoms of man. It is in the nature of our social system that, in solving personal, common and general social problems, the people, as producers and self-managers, make mutual agreements on the basis of their equality and mutual responsibility. Only thus can they realize and promote human freedoms. There can be no absolute freedom outside human interdependence. It is on this, too, that our concepts of freedom and rights of citizens and our practice of democratic relations in society are based.

The Role and Tasks of Sociopolitical Organizations

The sociopolitical and other organizations, forming within the framework of the Socialist Alliance the front of socialist forces headed by the League of Communists, are exceptionally important for the successful functioning and further development of our system of socialist self-management. We have always attached exceptional importance to the role of these organizations. No social system, including the system of socialist self-management, can function by itself. The social system is always run by the conscious activity of the dominant forces in society.

The entire activity of the Socialist Alliance at the present stage of our social development must be oriented to the self-managing practice and to the concrete problems with which the working people and citizens as self-managers are concerning themselves. This has not been sufficiently the case until now.

The Socialist Alliance frequently limits itself to generalized resolutions and verbal appeals to the working people and citizens whenever it is a question of solving their daily problems and wider social questions. But its proper place is where the problems are discussed and solved, where decisions are made and where the direct struggle to implement the adopted policy is waged. It is precisely here that the Socialist Alliance must become engaged. It is necessary to hold wide and well-argued discussions on concrete questions and insure that different views on their solution are heard. This means that communists, too, must participate in these discussions and struggle on an equal footing with others for their views and for the adoption of the most progressive solution. [paragraph continues]

Only thus is it possible to arrive, from a multitude of different and even contradictory interests--which are freely expressed and coordinated in our self-managing system--at joint solutions which promote general progress.

For these democratic and creative discussions it is necessary to insure that the working people are thoroughly informed about all questions vital for decisionmaking. This is a priority task of the Socialist Alliance. If facts are well explained, then it is difficult to defend various egotistic and particularistic demands. In addition to this, there are problems whose solutions would be justified but objective possibilities for these solutions do not exist. For this reason the working people must be acquainted with all elements of decisionmaking to insure that the adopted decisions are consistent both with their real interests and with the real possibilities of society. Of course, every self-managing organization or community must make decisions independently and assume the material and political responsibility for them. This method of activity can make the greatest contribution to insuring that the working people and citizens directly follow and control the work of their self-managing organs and delegate bodies, that they are mobilized in realizing social tasks and demand that everyone adopt a responsible attitude toward them.

When we speak of this role of the Socialist Alliance and of other sociopolitical organizations, and especially of the League of Communists, this is nothing new or unknown, nor is it a question here of some kind of change in their position. I spoke about such a role of these organizations also at the 10th congress and before that, too. After all, their daily and direct contacts with the masses, dating back before the war, remained the theoretical and practical orientation of our party. This is an expression of our consistent implementation of one of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, that revolution is the work of the workers class itself, which, in the broadest alliance with all the working people, wages the struggle as an organized and conscious social force. The League of Communists would not have been able to realize the historic victory it has won had it not behaved in this manner. This has always been its strength. Now it is a question of adapting this method of practical activity of communists and of members of the Socialist Alliance and of other organizations to the delegate system and of eliminating the instances of stagnation and doubts. For, it is precisely this activity that it is essential for the development of our self-managing socialist democracy and of socialist society in general.

I stress this, among other things, because there have been instances of underrating the Socialist Alliance. The fact is that the individual organizations and even leaderships of the League of Communists are neglecting their activity in the Socialist Alliance or are reducing it to some kind of a transmission role. There are those who forget or even refuse to see that the essence of socialist self-management lies in the living and constant activity of the working masses and not in the mere system of norms and institutions outside this activity.

The role of the trade unions is especially important in this respect, particularly when it is a question of the further development of self-managing socioeconomic relations in associated labor. This is their essential task today and will be for a long time to come. The workers class and other working people are establishing the new production relations in a long-term struggle against the antiself-managing forces, primarily against technocracy and bureaucracy. This requires even greater involvement of the trade unions in the efforts to consistently integrate labor and resources and to constantly perfect the distribution of income and personal income according to work and production. [paragraph continues]

Under the conditions in which considerable contradictions still exist within society and even within the workers class it is the duty of the trade unions to work on the preparation of unified views of the entire class. It is also necessary to intervene whenever self-managing or personal rights are violated, regardless at what level this might occur. I have already called attention several times to the need for this kind of activity by trade union organizations. Yet, various conflicts in the individual communities continue to occur, and even work stoppages; these most frequently result from bureaucratic actions toward workers and from violations of their rights. Many of these things could be avoided if the trade unions, with the participation of communists, mobilized workers promptly to prevent various negative phenomena.

As one of the factors of insuring greater production and higher labor productivity, increasing income and improving the working and living conditions of workers, the trade unions must persistently strive for work safety, for social catering services for workers, for their rest and recreation, the placement of children and especially for increased construction of workers' housing. Our workers class is constantly increasing. Therefore, the trade unions must devote their attention to developing and strengthening the class consciousness of workers and cultivating the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The role of the trade unions in solving various vital questions of the self-managing associated labor does not amount merely to a statement of its views on various proposed solutions; it must also adopt its own positions. In this manner it will best contribute to solving these questions in accordance with the interests of the workers class and, as a result, its reputation among workers will also increase.

The liberation of work, of the workers class and of man, implies a struggle for the liberation of women. For us this has always been a class question of strategic importance. There can be no complete democracy and development of self-management without the real participation of women in social and political life. For this reason our entire society must become much more engaged in solving more quickly and effectively the problems resulting from a disharmony between the woman's role in associated labor and in society in general and her still great obligations in the family. The engagement of about 2 million women in associated labor requires a more determined and organized creation of such living and working conditions as enable women to fully participate in the social life. In this connection I have in mind the solutions of such problems as the education and employment of women, the protection of motherhood, on the basis of social solidarity, and other conditions of life and work.

I particularly want to emphasize the importance of social care for children, not only for the sake of employed women and working families but also for the sake of unifying the conditions of upbringing and education of our younger generations.

Despite the noticeable results in the improvement of women's social position and of the attitude toward women, there are still instances of opposition to these efforts and even instances of sectarianism. The recent elections for delegates and delegate assemblies showed this. Even though more women were elected than previously, they are not even approximately proportionally represented in the assemblies and in the political executive organs. This attests, among other things, to the existence of conservative concepts of the woman's role, to a bureaucratic opposition to self-management and to an insufficient engagement of communists in breaking down this opposition.

The delegate system and the development of self-management have created even greater opportunities for youth to be present and much more active wherever the changing of relations and the entire further development of the society are influenced. This provides great chances for the younger generation to assert itself, to participate in the political decisionmaking and to fully play the role to which it is entitled in our society. This will also broaden the possibilities of insuring that young people as well as all other working people are really free and that they will assume concrete responsibility for this freedom.

After all, the younger generation has made direct and decisive contributions to the struggle for progress at all stages of our revolution. Therefore, it is very harmful that a number of young people, especially in the secondary and high schools, have remained outside the institutions of social decisionmaking although they are sufficiently mature to participate in decisionmaking and to contribute creatively to society's development. The ideological aberrations and hesitations most often result from noninvolvement and passiveness. This can be found among a part of the younger generation, just as instances of concepts alien to our self-managing society can be found among youth.

In order to bear its share of social responsibility, our youth must become much better acquainted with the foundations of Marxist theory and its development, as well as with all revolutionary achievements and practical results in our socialist development. Of course, a direct engagement of the young people in the struggle for self-management and their active participation in daily social decisionmaking is the most effective ideological-political school. In this way the young people will be able both to become acquainted with the essence of our system and with the difficulties and the problems faced by society in its development and to participate with the full ardor of youth in building socialism.

As the sociopolitical organization of the youth, the Federation of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia must develop its activity in accordance with this role and these youth tasks.

The sociopolitical role of veterans of Yugoslavia's national liberation war lies not only in cultivating revolutionary traditions but also in developing new socioeconomic and political relations and in deepening socialist self-management. For this reason their influence must particularly find expression in the delegate system and in the Socialist Alliance. Veterans realize the role of their organization through their persistence, self-denial and revolutionary experience as consistent followers of the policy of the League of Communists.

Systems of Public Information Media

As I have already said, the development of socialist self-management and the needs of the working man and citizen require that the latter be informed comprehensively and in good time about everything. This is one of his essential self-managing rights. The information media have a very great and responsible role in this respect. They are a tool in the hands of our working man and citizen in his struggle for further comprehensive development of society. Naturally, all sources of reliable information must be accessible to the information media. These media are an important part of our sociopolitical system.

This implies that, in playing their role, the information media must be an independent, responsible sociopolitical factor of socialist self-managing development. Their independence and responsibility require constant creative and critical actions by the subjective forces within them and in society in general.

Today we have a developed information system in all republics and provinces, including daily and weekly newspapers and radio and television in the languages of all peoples and nationalities. Together with the press and radio in communes and organizations of associated labor this presents a powerful and very influential subjective factor of self-managing, social and political action. This is a great achievement which we must continue to develop. Thus it is all the more necessary to devote great care to the professional and the ideological-political training of journalist cadres who will know how to struggle for the socialist self-managing relations.

The League of Communists and especially its organizations and individual communists in the news publishing and radio and television houses must oppose the monopolist tendencies and all attempts of abusing press, radio and television for any antiself-managing purposes.

We constantly stress the responsible role of the Socialist Alliance in examining the problems and in solving all questions of information dissemination. I see in this the road of the further socialization of the information media which must develop and work as an internal democratic force of the Socialist Alliance and of the self-managing action of the working people and citizens.

All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection

Simultaneously with our overall development, we have also achieved important results in the further development of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. Our total defense capability and the effectiveness of the security service have been strengthened. Our armed forces are better prepared than ever to resist any possible aggressor and defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. [applause] Security organs have thwarted attacks by external and internal enemies, and they will continue to thwart them. We cannot allow them to destroy the unity of our peoples and the great achievements of our revolution.

The development of all-people's defense and social self-protection has also strengthened the confidence of our working people and citizens that precisely this system represents a full guarantee for our freedom, independence and peaceful socialist self-managing social development. Awareness of the need for maximum engagement of all subjective factors of society in the tasks of all-people's defense and social self-protection is also developing at the same time.

We are building our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection as an integral part of the social system of socialist self-management. The class interests of the workers class and the socialist self-managing social relations are part of the basis of this system. All-people's defense and social self-protection have become a component part of the rights, responsibilities and obligations of working people and citizens and their work and sociopolitical communities and organizations. We have regulated by law and other self-managing acts the competences and the mutual relations of all subjective factors in this sphere of social relations. We have regulated by these regulations only what is the most necessary, what insures for us unity of the system and effective operation of all factors of defense and self-protection in war and in peace. Broad possibilities have been left open for creative and self-managing activity and self-initiative of all sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical organizations regarding organizing, training and equipping territorial defense units, supplies for these units and their use and activity.

The tasks of all-people's defense and social self-protection are being increasingly carried out--so to speak--through work and along with work, and they are therefore becoming a part of regular daily activities and work tasks. The working people and citizens--self-managers--are organizing their defense and self-protection in work and sociopolitical communities, and they transfer only the indispensable necessary common tasks to the social institutions specially organized for this purpose, such as the Yugoslav People's Army and the security services. Thus we insure in practice the socialization of the defense function which in other social systems is alienated from the working man. This is a practical implementation of the Marxist concept of armed people.

The vast majority of our population, nearly all capable citizens of the SFRY, are included in the tasks of defense and self-protection. A large number of our working people and citizens are now being trained and prepared for direct participation in the armed struggle. The great results we have achieved in this respect give us the right to note that our armed forces are completely ready, if need be, to successfully defend our independence and freedom. However, in the coming period we must also aim at perfecting the existing and at finding new, even better forms of organization of the armed forces, at further modernizing training in accordance with our material possibilities, which are not small now, at equipping with the most modern possible equipment and arms, produced to the greatest extent in our factories.

This development of the armed forces calls for application of scientific achievements both in the production of equipment and arms and in respect to organization, mobilization, training and supply. It is particularly important that modern tactics, strategy and all forms of operations in wars waged now constantly be followed and studied. On this basis, and in accordance with our concept and experiences from the national liberation struggle and other liberation and revolutionary wars, it is necessary further to develop our own strategy and tactics of armed struggle and to prepare the armed forces and all potential countries for defense against possible aggression. In this respect it is necessary to organize even better scientific research in the armed forces, particularly concerning the skills of war.

On this occasion I also want to emphasize the special place and role of our youth in all-people's defense and social self-protection. Preparing youth for carrying out the tasks of defense and self-protection is better now than it had been, but all educational-instructional institutions, sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor are still not sufficiently involved. Organizations of the Socialist Youth Federation must also be protagonists of these activities. We must never forget the fact that the youth will carry the greatest burden of war, if it comes to it, and for this reason we must prepare it in time so as to enable it to also successfully carry out the most complex tasks.

I must say that the questions of all-people's defense and social self-protection are approached in a rather one-sided manner in our country. Preparations for an armed struggle and a possible waging of an all-people's defense war are paid central attention. This is good and understandable, but it is insufficient. A large part of the population must be prepared to carry out in a possible war, in accordance with our concept, other tasks of society--in the economy, civil defense, health service, education, science and culture and in other social activities. For this reason the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces must devote much greater attention to the building of this part of our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

When cadres for all-people's defense and social self-protection are involved, we must insure that all leading posts are taken by socialist and self-managing oriented and professionally trained people. Today we have many young people who can successfully carry out these tasks. We also have created a number of specialized educational-instructional institutions which give us increasingly more and more experts. The participants of our national liberation struggle, particularly the younger ones, could also in the future make a valuable contribution to a transfer of experience to young cadres and to insuring revolutionary continuity.

The League of Communists, as the leading and directing force of the society, has a special political responsibility and cohesive role in the all-people's defense and social self-protection. With its ideopolitical activity, permanent presence and influence, the League of Communists must also in this field implement the continuity of its unified revolutionary political line. In the past the League of Communists has also successfully implemented this role. In the coming period, the organizations and leaderships of the League of Communists must devote even greater attention to the activities in the grassroots linked with the all-people's defense and social self-protection, particularly in the local community and the basic organizations of associated labor. The organization of the League of Communists in the army is the protagonist of responsibility in implementing LCY policy in developing the combat capability and moral-political strength of the Yugoslav People's Army and its national character.

IV. Development of the Marxist Theory, Science, Education and Culture

The League of Communists has always understood the importance and role of Marxist theory at all stages of socialist revolution. It is by its critical and Marxist analysis of social trends that the League of Communists has obtained scientific knowledge of the essence of social processes. On this basis it has determined the directions of the further development of revolution, insuring its continuity. At the same time it has armed the workers class with this knowledge, making this workers class a conscious subjective factor of socialist development.

The results we have achieved precisely in recent years in developing socialist self-management and in organizing all of society on this basis have opened new, extraordinary important prospects for the further development of our socialist revolution. This revolution also represents one of the greatest attainments of our Marxist theoretical creative work.

The theoretic vision and practice of associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management are great and far-reaching steps in socialist development. They can be compared with the most important achievements of our socialist revolution in general.

Marxist Thought and Self-Management

The idea of workers self-management represents the cornerstone of the scientific theory of the classics of Marxism. Our socialist revolution deserves the credit because, now in practice and theory, it has reaffirmed this great idea which, as we know, was for a while pushed aside and forgotten in the workers movement. Thus the revolutionary and humanistic possibilities of socialism have obtained new strong incentives.

Our revolution's contribution to the Marxist theory and socialist practice is far greater than the reaffirmation of the slogan "Factories to the workers." We were the first to begin to build a socialist society in which self-management has left factories and has embraced the whole organization of the society.

Just as our socialist practice is constantly developing, conquering new fields of human freedom and creative work, our scientific Marxist thinking, which is constantly enriching our knowledge on further roads of and obstacles to socialist development, must also continue to develop along with it. I think our Marxist thinking must to a much greater extent research the nature, factors and development of socialist society and must base the theoretical analysis of all forces, relations and processes from the viewpoint of socialism as a process of socialist revolution.

This primarily refers to the field of associated labor as a historic process which leads toward Marx' free association of producers, to the field of a political system of socialist self-management, then to the commune as a composite community of the working people as producers, consumers and political factors in which the economy, education, science, culture, health, social care and so forth are most directly linked.

We are also facing great theoretical tasks in Marxist research in the development of intellectual activities and the entire sphere of ideological superstructure. It is indispensable to scientifically study problems of international relations, primarily the policy of nonalinement and the struggle for a new economic system as a social need of the progressive transformation of the contemporary world. Of course, within this framework it is also necessary further to study the role, tasks and forms of activity of the League of Communists as the leading, directing and cohesive factor of our society.

I want particularly to stress that our past realizations and socialist practice itself offer theoretical foundations and determine the direction of theoretical research of these questions.

In recent years, the institutions and cadres in the field of social sciences have been developing more than in the past their scientific activity on Marxist foundations and are turning more toward the needs of our socialist practice. However, there is still a variance between the needs of practice and the development of social sciences, as well as a noticeable lagging of social sciences behind those Marxist realizations which the LCY has already acquired. In this connection, I would mention several important questions.

First of all, with the integration of these activities into associated labor it is necessary to create self-managing relations which will encourage the direction of social sciences toward solving the topical problems of our practice.

At the same time, our task is to study even more intensively the revolutionary work and thought of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to follow modern Marxist research in the world. This is necessary for us as a theoretical instrument of Marxist analyses and research.

It is also necessary that socialist practice should also consciously and in an organized manner turn toward science. We are entering such a stage of our socialist development in which we must much more broadly base, and at all levels of the society, our entire social political activity on scientific knowledge. Science is becoming an essential component of the subjective forces. For this reason we must struggle much more resolutely against pragmatism and practicism, which are still apparent in many communities.

With the development of intensive and broad Marxist education in the League of Communists, the necessary prerequisites are being created for the communists to work armed with Marxist knowledge and to be ideological leaders of the workers class.

In this respect, extraordinary importance is attached to the LCY political school in Kumrovec, which should not only instruct assertive young political aktivists and social workers in a Marxist manner but also help the most capable individuals to deal more thoroughly with Marxist theory and social research.

The growing interest of the League of Communists for Marxist theory has been particularly manifested in the development of the activities of Marxist centers and party schools attached to the central, provincial and many communal committees. The Center for Social Research of the LCY Central Committee Presidium has a particularly important role. In cooperation with republican and provincial centers it should encourage a theoretical elaboration of the most topical questions and activities of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and some of them should be the subject of a long-term research. Therefore, the center must be provided with the necessary working conditions.

In recent years we have stressed the importance of the self-managing linking of science and practice, and with good reason. In this respect we achieved initial results, especially in the work of the interests communities for science as well as in a more direct linking of some scientific institutions with the economy. One should continue to pursue this road more persistently. However, we must also attempt to accelerate the daily role of science. Science and expertise most become an important fundamental of the activities of all the organizations, organs and institutions, of all the decision-making factors. In this way science becomes a significant subjective force of development.

In this respect, too, we have some positive experience. The work of the federal councils for questions of the social system and for economic development and economic policy in the preparations of the associated labor law and other laws which build the social system is the best evidence of the need for and the possibility of the integration of science with sociopolitical practice. It would therefore be suitable to organize and develop such forms at other levels, too, above all, within the delegate assemblies and their executive organs.

The linking of social sciences and sociopolitical practice demands appropriate ideological activities. It is primarily a matter of the ideological foundations and the direction of the development of social sciences; for social sciences that develop under the influence of bourgeois science would be out of harmony with our socialist trends. Therefore, we need a constant ideological struggle. The development of social sciences on the foundations of Marxism and the achievements and perceptions of our socialist practice implies a constant ideological struggle against alien theoretical and ideological beliefs.

Yugoslavia is an open country. This is an integral part of our strategic orientation, for the expanding links between independent and equal peoples and their material and spiritual cultures constitute an essential progressive tendency of the contemporary world. This openness and our diverse communications with the world make possible our presence and influence in contemporary worldevents, and vice versa, the influence of progressive achievements of foreign cultures on us. However, in this way the door is at the same time open to negative ideological and political influences, too. In addition, the contradictions of our development and the remnants of the old relations and forces also produce beliefs and theoretical views alien to us. Thus, we face the influences of bourgeois ideology, petit bourgeois beliefs, technocratic ideological concepts, dogmatism and conservatism, diverse variations of the pseudorevolutionary ultra-left ideology and the like. Our experiences confirm the old truth that Marxism, open toward all progressive scientific cognition, develops only through an incessant struggle against alien ideologies, and the most important aspect of this struggle is theoretical criticism.

The LCY has always striven and struggled for freedom of creativity in science and arts. This basic precept is also contained in the LCY program, to which we have consistently adhered in the course of the past two decades.

However, even when it is a question of the freedom of creativity, we are not satisfied with what we have achieved. There is no freedom that is achieved without struggle. One must struggle incessantly for the fullest possible freedom of scientific and cultural creativity and this is primarily the task of the communist scientific and cultural creators. Within scientific and general cultural activities it still occurs that individual groups or clans, for their egoistic interests, restrict creativity and especially prevent young scientific and cultural workers from asserting themselves. A backstage struggle of the groups and clans to attain monopoly positions, instead of an open ideological struggle on theoretical questions, is frequently waged.

The LCY has always been critical of itself and its work. Thanks to this criticism, we have insured the continuity of our revolution and its uninterrupted creativity. Therefore, we are deeply interested in the development of Marxism as a critical and revolutionary theory in Marx' sense.

A negating criticism does not contribute to progressive development but only causes confusion and an abatement of action. The sense of Marxist theory and critical analysis lies in discovering the roads and forms of further revolutionary development within the existing things. Precisely this is the unity of the critical and revolutionary aspects of Marxism.

Science and Education--Factors of Development

In the field of natural, technical and applied sciences the persistent and longstanding work of experts and researchers has yielded valuable results in a considerable number of disciplines. Some of these results are among the best in the world. These are really great achievements, which have noticeably contributed to the development of agriculture, metallurgy, the building industry and to some other fields. It is imperative to extend social support to the devoted efforts of our scientists. It is particularly important to systematically improve the conditions for scientific research, so that the capabilities and initiatives of those talented people who can contribute to the development of our science, and thus to our society in general, are developed even more strongly.

However, such an attitude toward science does not yet prevail. In some fields there is, so to speak, no organized research. In a large number of industrial branches, for instance, which employ a considerable number of workers, and which have identical or similar production and technology, little joint work is done on promoting technological procedures.

These examples tell us that it is necessary to perceive more clearly certain contradictions which exist in this field. Namely, we already have a fairly developed network of independent scientific institutions; then there are those at universities, in faculties and academies of sciences, as well as research and development centers in the economy. A considerable number of educational cadres has sprung up and there is much scientific, technological and organizational knowledge and experience. However, the insufficient cooperation among them, themselves, and between them and the economy, the educational system and other social activities represents a serious obstruction to a complete expression of all these potentials. Only self-managing transformations and a linkage of research with production and social practice can manifoldly increase the contribution of science to the overall development. All this reconfirms that we have done well by stressing the principle of developing direct self-managing relations and a free exchange of labor between science and other fields of work, with a constant reduction in state intervention.

This is imposed on us, among other things, by the need to continue to strengthen our independence in all spheres of life, which, of course, does not in any way imply autarky. We are oriented to this also by the socialist and self-managing characteristics of our society and by the obligation to develop our own production forces and intellectual potential in accordance with these characteristics.

The question of organization of scientific work in our society is becoming increasingly topical as a result of the process of association of labor and the linking of material production, science, education and so forth. The number of the social subjective factors which have a direct need for science is rapidly increasing. I have in mind the numerous work organizations and especially the large systems and composite organizations, the universities and faculties, delegate assemblies and sociopolitical organizations. At the same time it is becoming necessary to concentrate resources to provide a strong material base for work, that is, the most modern technical equipment, laboratories, research facilities, libraries, documents and so forth.

This implies among other things that the practice of association of labor and pooling of resources must be further encouraged for the sake of joint investments for the development of this base and that the functioning of this base must be regulated by self-managing agreements and accords.

The preparation of talented young people for scientific work is an important obligation of the entire society. Several factors play an important role in this respect. Our school system is one of the most important of these. For this reason this task must also be perceived within the framework of the entire self-managing transformation of education and upbringing. The important thing is to insure that any inclinations toward scientific research work manifested by a young person will be developed, beginning with the secondary school vocational education. Faculties certainly have an important role here. The faculty does not only offer knowledge but must also prepare a man for solving problems and must stimulate his creative activity in general. All this attests to the profound justification of our orientation to a self-managing transformation of education, to linking and associating faculties with other organizations of associated labor, to developing the self-managing rights and position of pupils and students within the education system and to changing the methods of work and human relationships within this system.

It is very important to understand that in our socialist self-managing society we are developing science as a force of associated workers and not as a means of some forces alienated from them. Striving for the development of the unity of science, production, education and social practice in general, we struggle for a science that will be the more productive and the freer the more it is genuinely linked to the workingman and engaged in his liberation.

For this reason the ideological struggle of communists in clearing the roads to this development and to the elucidation of its aims is of decisive importance. Their political tasks in breaking the technocratic monopolies and all other opposition to the self-managing association of all spheres of human life and creativity are also great in this connection.

Our social community has achieved great results in the development of education and upbringing and these results are incorporated in the achievements of the community's overall socialist self-managing development. Some 4.5 million young and mature people are annually included within the system of upbringing and education. More than 90 percent of all young people enter the secondary vocational education schools after the completion of their elementary school education and about 47 percent of those who complete the secondary school education continue their education in higher and high schools. A very extensive network of schools and faculties now exists in the republics and provinces. Since the war about 650,000 students have graduated at higher and high schools and about 20,000 cadres have obtained the degrees of master or doctor of science. In the country there are now 18 universities or high school centers with 300 higher schools and faculties and more than 400,000 students, a fact that for a number of years has placed us among the first in the world for the number of students in proportion to the size of the population.

It was on the basis of the ideological-political views adopted by the 10th congress that a process of qualitative changes was initiated in upbringing and education, a process aimed at insuring self-managing association within upbringing and education within the unified system of associated labor. Ideological-political and social actions were initiated and organizational and professional work was carried out in all republics and provinces during the period between the two congresses and this has already yielded results.

The Marxist ideological orientation of upbringing has been strengthened not only as a result of the introduction of new subjects of Marxist education but also as a result of the endeavors to insure that the entire upbringing and education work from the elementary to high schools is imbued with this orientation. Vocational education is eliminating certain shortcomings of the previous upbringing and education system that were one of the sources of social differences. An integral part of the transformation of vocational education is the intensive work in the preparation of new teaching programs in which the cadres from the sphere of material production, from chambers of economy and so forth are participating more and more in addition to educational and scientific workers.

The social action for the socialist self-managing transformation of upbringing and education is accompanied by a clash between the new practice and the tenacious traditionalism and bourgeois concepts in these activities, a clash that is reflected, among other things, in the spreading of distrust in the changes that are being introduced as a result of the educational reform. It is necessary to keep in mind that nationalism, technocratism, dogmatism and other antiself-managing phenomena in education are now manifesting themselves precisely in the defense of old concepts. An incessant ideological struggle is therefore a component part of the broad social action and professional work in connection with the reform.

The consistent implementation of the principle of continuous education during the entire course of working life demands that the entire organization and system of education, schools and faculties, as well as the organizations of associated labor in the economy, science and other activities must be adapted to this requirement to a greater extent than in the past. A bolder and more determined involvement of the higher level professional and research cadres both from the sphere of material production and from the sphere of social activities in the upbringing and education process can greatly contribute to the processes of linking education and work and of overcoming the traditional closed character of the work of the upbringing and education institutions. But there have been instances in which a formal possession of academic titles or educational position has been demanded of these cadres regardless of their real abilities whereas at the same time there is a shortage of professional teaching cadres in many schools and faculties.

The results achieved in Marxist education so far and the essential aims of the reform demand a democratization in the preparation of programs and of textbooks for all, and especially social sciences. As a matter of fact, the most appropriate way for our democratic relations would be if we introduced the custom of making the major Marxist works, important textbooks on Marxism as well as proposals for teaching programs the subject of wide public discussion.

The League of Communists and the youth organizations must work even more persistently and in a more organized way to strengthen the self-managing rights of pupils and students. An active role of pupils and students is a component part of the reform of education and upbringing.

The League of Communists will further continue to strive to insure for the workers in the sphere of upbringing and education a socioeconomic position that is equal to the position of workers in the sphere of material production and in other spheres of associated labor. This will be achieved through a consistent realization of the free exchange of labor which must encourage the evaluation of the results of educational and upbringing work in accordance with their contribution to material, social and cultural progress.

Self-Managing Transformation of Culture

The decisions of the 10th Congress of the League of Communists, the Constitution and the law on associated labor gave a powerful impetus to the self-managing transformation of culture. The organizations of associated labor in the sphere of culture have constituted themselves on the basis of self-management. It is through their delegations in the self-managing interest communities that these organizations hold discussions and make decisions on the development of cultural life, together with the organizations of associated labor in the sphere of material production and in other activities. Many of these organizations are also initiating direct mutual cooperation.

The inherited dependence of cultural institutions on the state and on the budget financing is being more and more overcome in this manner. There is virtually no field of culture in which certain trends in this direction and efforts to change the method of work and the internal relations in the individual cultural institutions are not apparent.

It is certainly also a positive fact that at their congresses and other meetings the creative workers from these fields discuss the questions of and make accords on the self-managing transformation of their activities on the basis of self-managing association of labor. All this has a positive effect on the cultural cooperation among the republics and provinces.

Of course, here, too, there is still a considerable amount of error, lack of understanding and opposition. However, this will not prevent us from realizing our aims, which are of a long-term nature. We aspire to insure that the greatest values created in science, arts and in all fields of creative work become the property of the workingman. At the same time, we strive to insure that his own socialist self-managing activity will be a cultural act, the construction of a new culture. The conditions for a manifestation of all human creative possibilities must be therefore constantly developed in society.

This will not be easy, nor will it be done quickly. But if we work well, the practice of routine approach, egotism and indolence of spirit will retreat more and more before the inner need of people for creative work, before our firm orientation to social transformations, before the feeling of solidarity with and understanding for others and before the force of the national equality and brotherhood of our peoples and nationalities.

An ever increasing number of our people feel and think in this way and behave thus in daily life. Our organized socialist forces must contribute even more with their persistent work to insuring that the culture conceived in this manner will strongly permeate all spheres of life and the consciousness and activity of our workingman.

V-The LCY, the Leading and Guiding Ideopolitical Force of Society

The 10th LCY Congress with its clear positions most widely mobilized the League of Communists membership and all socialist forces of society and stimulated them to conscious creative activity. By persistent work we have succeeded in strengthening the ideopolitical and action unity of the League of Communists. This contributed in a decisive way to strengthening the self-managing socioeconomic and social position of the working people and generally to the affirmation and stability of our socialist self-managing system. The present efforts in the further development of socialist self-managing democracy are in fact a consistent and logical continuation and continuity of our revolutionary strategy and the policy of the League of Communists.

The League of Communists at the present stage of socialist development also critically analyzes the road traversed and the experiences, opens the prospects of social and material development and points out the ways and means of the struggle for an ever better life for the working people. The essence of its leading role is in that it encourages the creative forces and strengthens the self-managing consciousness of millions of working people under the conditions of the self-managing and delegate system.

The League of Communists implements its role as an internal force in our socioeconomic and political system through the activities of the workers class and of all the self-managing forces of society. It is always at the very center of the political life of the masses, struggling for the workers class and all working people organized in a self-managing manner to be decisive factors in solving all essential social problems.

It is an obligation to the League of Communists and other socialist forces to strengthen the self-managing role of the working man in associated labor, to strengthen the position of the workers class as the basic subject of the revolution. Various pressures by bureaucratic and technocratic monopolies, which usually demagogically pretend to be the representatives of the interests of associated labor or the state, can be successfully opposed only by an organized and united workers class, together with other working people.

The building of new socioeconomic and political relations on the basis of the constitution and the associated labor law cannot be a matter of spontaneous action but of conscious and organized ideological and political activities by the socialist forces of society headed by the League of Communists. It is only in this way that our revolution can progress. It has won victories and achieved successes up to now above all due to the fact that it has been no slave to any models or dogmas and that it has not fallen prey to practicism, but--proceeding from the achievements of our contemporary socialist theory and practice--has always leaned on the creative and revolutionary action of the workers class and the broadest strata of society.

We now face the tasks of implementing our new socioeconomic and political system. At the center of this system as we have conceptualized it stands man, his freedom and happiness, his rights as producer and self-manager, and his immediate and long-term interests. This is precisely the sense and purpose of the revolutionary struggle by our workers class and its communist vanguard. Socialism is a historical process of the emancipation of labor and of the workers class, the emancipation of man, a process in which man becomes the actual master of his life and work. [applause]

The comprehensive engagement of the subjective socialist forces is necessary in solving social problems, for in the multiplicity of the various interests of self-managing subjects, these forces--primarily the League of Communists--express the essence and the entity of what is common in our socialist society. Therefore, the League of Communists must be present in all places where self-managers make decisions as an internal motive force of the system, and not be outside it or above it. In democratic cooperation with all the producers, the communists must struggle so that the self-managers themselves freely express and harmonize their narrower and and wider, immediate and long-term interests and adopt the most rational decisions on all the problems that concern both their own life and work and the development of small and large sociopolitical communities.

The working man's consciousness that his personal interests can only be realized through harmonization and linking with broader common interests is indispensable for such democratic decisionmaking. Precisely the League of Communists has an irreplaceable role in creating such consciousness.

The League of Communists must therefore stand firmly within the delegate system. It must make a decisive contribution to the delegate system's growing into a powerful instrument of all self-managing society. Therefore the League of Communists must work through an equal, creative dialog with the working people, closely tied with the delegations and delegates, in an organized ideopolitical struggle for the most appropriate solutions--in associated labor, local and self-managing interest communities and delegate assemblies: in a word, in the overall political system of our socialist self-managing democracy.

Unity of the LCY and Democratic Centralism

The ideological-political and action unity of the League of Communists based on democratic centralism will be the guarantee for our successes and victories also in the future just as it has been until now. It is the essential condition for the further development of the socialist self-managing society and for strengthening the equality, brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In this connection I wish to point out that during the past period the LCY Central Committee was and has continued to be united on all the vital questions of socialist construction and our foreign policy. The leagues of communists of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces and their central and provincial committees have made their full contribution to strengthening LCY unity. Their responsibility for elaborating and implementing the united LCY policy was strongly confirmed, among other things, also at the recent republican congresses and provincial conferences.

Of course, we must further continue to strengthen the ideological and action unity of our ranks primarily through daily work in fulfilling our tasks. It is only in this manner that we can always win again and again working people's confidence just as the unity itself must be built and confirmed again and again at every new stage, for unity is not an abstract concept but is built in closest relation to reality, to the development of socioeconomic relations and to the harmonization of different interests in the society and also among the individual parts of the workers class. In addition to this, our society has not as yet been liberated from various negative tendencies. Occurrences of gaps between words and deeds are particularly damaging. The opposition of various technobureaucratic monopoly is also still strong. The reactions of some individual social organs, too, are occasionally one-sided as a result of different and contradictory interests. For this reason we must form simultaneously with the development of the political system also such a policy of the League of Communists and of the entire society as will insure, among other things, also the greatest possible unity of action. In this manner we shall also most effectively resist all anti-self-managing tendencies. The League of Communists must especially wage a constant struggle against those who, by using the objective difficulties and contradictions of our development, strive to prevent the coordination of different interests by democratic means, for in this way they essentially deny the equality of peoples and nationalities and the decisive role of the interests of the workers class.

The results we are achieving in our concrete actions of strengthening socialist self-management and of consistently implementing the SFRY Constitution and the law on associated labor form the class and political basis of the real unity and the most important criterion of the revolutionary attitude of every individual member, organization and organ of the League of Communists. In this manner a decisive contribution is made to strengthening the unity of the workers class and the equality and brotherhood of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Democratic relations in the League of Communists itself are of special importance for the realization of its leading role. Because of this, democratic centralism will remain also in the future the basic principle of the internal relations, organization and the entire activity of the LCY. It insures the broadest democracy in formulating policy and making decisions and the strongest unity in implementing them. This enables every individual member and every individual organization and leadership of the LCY to show the greatest initiative and creativity. Democratic centralism in the LCY is also an essential condition and prerequisite for the democratic development of our entire society. For this reason democratic centralism must be consistently implemented and enriched in the further development of the internal relations and in the strengthening of the unity of the LCY.

Discussions in the League of Communists must be held freely and democratically. Ideological unity specifically presupposes a struggle of views in searching for the best solutions. It is from these democratic relations that creative united actions result. The views and decisions adopted by a majority become the law for every individual communist and thus also for any individual communist who had had an opposing view. He may retain his view, but in practice he must carry out the decision of the majority. Any contrary behavior would lead to group forming and factionalism and to the destruction of LCY unity.

A free and open expression of views and a principled criticism are the best medicine against excessive and negative criticizing, demagogy, politicking and other similar phenomena. We are a revolutionary organization which people join voluntarily, motivated by ideological orientation and by the desire to personally contribute to the revolution and to the liberation of man and his work. Communists must feel free, equal and needed by the workers class. A creative dialog can be held only in an atmosphere of democratic and comradely relations among people who freely express their opinions on every problem for the purpose of jointly forming views and moving to action. For this reason we must constantly develop democratic relations in the League of Communists as the best instrument of revolutionary and creative unity.

The League of Communists advocates democracy which also implies responsibility and is a condition for the efficient performance of social tasks. It is by our persevering efforts for this socialist and self-managing democracy that we communists differ from the petit bourgeois, liberals and similar people who conceive of democracy merely as rights, without any social responsibility.

Every step in the development of socialist self-management creates the conditions for increasingly more democratic forms of social life and for a constant deepening of the rights of the working people and citizens. The struggle for the liberation of work and the workers class in our country is moving to increasingly higher forms of socialist self-managing freedoms for all people. This is the vital question of the present stage of revolution and of the ideological orientation of communists and of all fighters for socialism.

The Forms of Organization and Activities of the League of Communists

The League of Communists will implement its leading ideological and political role under the new conditions, too, by consistently struggling, with appropriate forms and methods of activities within the socioeconomic and political system, for socialist self-managing solutions to the essential problems of development, which I have already discussed. In this respect, this congress will also examine amendments to the LCY Statute.

We must pay particular attention to the basic organization of the League of Communists as a fundamental form and subject of the overall policy and the ideopolitical activities of the communists. It is precisely through its basic organizations that the League of Communists realizes its direct link with the workers class and working people. By the formation of its basic organization in the basic organizations of associated labor and in work and local communities, the League of Communists is anchored in the basic cells of society. Following the 10th congress, the process of creating organizations with fewer members continued, and this had a positive influence on the development of the initiative and activities of the communists and brought about a strengthening of the ideological influence of the League of Communists. Experience shows that the party has always worked more successfully when its basic organizations were more active. Currently, too, a communist is required to be in all things an exemplary fighter of the revolution, inseparably linked with the masses. This was why we embarked on the creation of smaller basic organizations. Since 1971, when we had 15,825 basic organizations, their number has increased every year. At the beginning of 1974, there were 26,575, and at the end of 1977 there were 47,212 basic organizations. Among them 82.4 percent had less than 50 members. In this way conditions have been created for even more direct and successful activities by the communists.

Communists need a daily dialog and accord with other working people directly at their work place, at a meeting, at a trade union gathering, in the workers council and so forth. There, and not behind closed doors, one should perceive the essential problems of one's community, responsibly adopt positions and find the best solutions. In their overall activities, the communists must lead by their adherence to principles, sound knowledge and high level of political culture, which implies tolerance and respect for different opinions. The communists must have a good feeling for everything that happens in their community and for what the working people really want.

Always present where self-managing and political activities of the working masses and citizens develop, the League of Communists must be receptive to their initiatives and strivings and build its conclusions and conduct political actions based on them. Thus, the League of Communists will to an even greater extent be what one has always asked it to be: a revolutionary party of the working masses and their most powerful weapon.

Likewise, the work of the communal organizations of the League of Communists and their organs must be adjusted to the new conditions of the development of our socialist self-managing system, in conformity with the requirements of the activities of the members and the basic organizations. The communal conference and its committee should direct the overall activities of the communists in their area, coordinate their actions and react on time to certain phenomena and problems. A thorough and timely analysis of specific problems should be the main basis for building the ideological and political positions of the League of Communists for its work in the delegate system, in the SAWP and other sociopolitical organizations.

The forms of the League of Communist activities in self-managing and sociopolitical organs and organizations are not yet sufficiently developed in many communes. The communal conferences are primarily asked to contribute with their work to a democratic decisionmaking within the delegate system. Therefore, the shortcomings in their work must be more energetically eliminated, for there are still many examples of decision-making on various socioeconomic and political questions being concentrated in the communal committee, as well as occurrences of various informal groups and individuals deciding alone instead of through appropriate organs and organizations.

In a word, the organization of our League of Communists as a whole should serve the best possible functioning of our political system of socialist self-managing democracy.

The work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium as the political executive organ must be organized in conformity with this. It is necessary for our Central Committee to perceive on time the socialist practice of society as a whole, to link the experiences and theoretical knowledge with the real situation and the long-term vision, and to direct social development. This means that it should be up to date on all current trends and problems that are on the agenda of the delegation and their bodies, of social councils and of the sociopolitical organizations of the federation, that it should implement democratic communication and should actively and directly participate in the creation and implementation of their policy. In this way our Central Committee will also in the future insure uniform activities by the entire League of Communists as a--ideologically, politically and organizationally--united vanguard of the workers class with a unified political platform; for socialist self-management, too, is a unified social production relationship, just as the historical interests of the workers class and of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia are identical.

The increasingly successful activities in fulfilling the tasks set by the 10th congress have increased even more the confidence of the working people in the revolutionary course and policy of the LCY. This has also been visibly reflected in the development of the League of Communists which increased its ranks by nearly 700,000 members in the time between the 10th and the 11th congresses so that it had 1,629,029 members by the end of 1977. It is significant that among the newly admitted members the majority are young people, over 71 percent of them, a fact which represents a great rejuvenation for the League of Communists which is by the average age of its members one of the youngest communist parties. This also shows that the policy of the League of Communists expresses, among other things, also the interests and aspirations of the younger generations who see their future in socialist self-management and readily assume responsibility for its further development. I have a deep faith in our younger generations. I am convinced that our youth will worthily and boldly continue to move along the revolutionary road cleared by the preceding generations and that it will, with its full force, further develop the achievements of our revolution. (applause)

The social structure of the League of Communists is changing positively though it is changing somewhat more slowly. More than 166,000 workers have been admitted as members since the last congress and thus today nearly one-third of the members of the League of Communists, that is, nearly half a million members, are direct producers. When we add to this figure all others who work in direct production within the self-managing associated labor and live from their income, then we can say that nearly one half of LCY members are members of the workers class.

However, the idea of the need for the struggle for a worker majority in the League of Communists still has not prevailed in some organizations and thus this continues to be one of our primary tasks. The workers class is the main factor of socialist revolution and thus it is necessary to insure that direct producers will be in majority in the ranks of its vanguard. And in this connection it is necessary to eliminate a certain lack of clarity concerning the social structure of the membership. Mistaken concepts as to who is a worker today are still apparent. The structure of employed people has also changed qualitatively in our country as a result of the development of production forces and the application of science and modern technology. There is an increasingly greater number of people with high education in the sphere of direct production of material goods. In the contemporary technological production process a doctor of science is a direct producer in the same way as the worker behind a lathe. Therefore, the technical and other intelligentsia, whose activity directly serves the production process, is also a component part of the workers class.

The number of private agricultural producers is now also gradually increasing, following a period of stagnation in this respect, and thus there are now nearly 80,000 of them in the league. In this connection it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the process of migration of the village population to cities and to industry is still strong in our country. However, even despite this we cannot be satisfied with the present number of agricultural producers in the League of Communists. For, this is not proportionally adequate to their activity in the socialist transformation of the village and the advancement of agricultural production.

The number of women in the League of Communists has also increased considerably, by about 160,000, and thus their participation now amounts to over 23 percent. Special attention must be devoted to the admission of women workers from the spheres of material production and agricultural production. I must say that a sectarianist approach is still apparent in this connection. Certain communities also show a conservative attitude toward the woman's role in the sociopolitical life.

The working people and youth obviously want to be members of the vanguard whose policy is also an expression, among other things, of their own personal aspirations and ideological-political orientation. However, it happens that some individuals join the League of Communists for careerist and other similar motives and this happens most frequently in the communities outside the sphere of direct production. These people usually become passive after their admission or they leave the League of Communists. Of course, in the future, too, the League of Communists must not adopt a sectarian attitude and close the door to all those who join the struggle for socialist self-management. It is clear that the adopted criteria must be respected and that admissions must be made systematically and in organized manner. New members must also be given greater assistance in the ideological-political training to enable them to successfully perform their everyday tasks.

As I have always stressed, it is not the number of its members but rather their ideological-political quality and their ability as the leading force of the society to mobilize and direct the working people in the struggle for socialism that are decisive for a revolutionary party such as our League of Communists. A communist has been and continues to be a conscious soldier of revolution, prepared to give all of himself for the fulfillment of its ideals and aims. For this reason the eyes of the people are justly turned to communists and to what they are doing. [paragraph continues]

It must be always remembered that the work and the behavior of individual members has an effect on the reputation of the entire League of Communists. For this reason the communist must radiate those virtues which reflect his devotion to the class aims and humane values of the movement to which he belongs. He must constantly continue to enrich his ideological and moral make-up, incessantly learn and expand his knowledge, for all this is a necessary condition for successful social actions.

Ideological Training of Communists

Following the 10th congress, the organizations and leaderships of the League of Communists have developed an extensive activity in the ideological-political training of communists and other working people. It can be said that such a breadth and intensity of work have been hardly ever before achieved in the postwar period.

As I have already said, Marxist centers have been organized in all republics and provinces and in some larger cities and work organizations. A large number of political schools have been formed and other forms of ideological-political training have been initiated.

The further development of our socialist self-managing practice also presents more complicated tasks in the sphere of ideological-political training. We have embarked on the roads of linking various spheres of work and social life, the roads which are new in many respects. This demands such greater knowledge, wider horizons and richer culture of people. Our working man is in such a position in which he participates at his working place in the decisionmaking on all questions of development of his basic organization of associated labor, of his commune and of the community as a whole. For the purpose of solving these questions he pools a part of income which is the result also of his work. This position also demands of him a deeper understanding of the laws of social development. Even more is demanded of members of the League of Communists. They must possess the knowledge on the basis of which they will be able to analyze the relations and the situation in which they work and to find in a multitude of different interests those solutions which will strengthen socialist self-management.

The ideological-political training makes communists more strongly engaged and conscious fighters for further social transformations. The Marxist culture changes their way of thinking and feeling and their attitude toward other people and social problems.

Marxist education also helps communists more deeply perceive the social roots of antisocialist and antiself-managing ideologies and various aspects of their manifestation. It prepares them thus for the ideological struggle.

At the 10th LCY Congress we emphasized the importance of the basic organization in the development of ideological work. The sense of this position was to hold in the basic organization, which discusses questions of practical political work, a simultaneous ideological-theoretical discussion on these problems so that this would be an ideological preparation for political activity. This spirit should also imbue the activity of all organizations and leaderships of the League of Communists.

Our Marxist journalism, which must be even more engaged in this direction, can contribute to the development of theoretical thinking of communists and the ideological struggle. The KOMUNIST publishing house has a special role in this connection.

A large number of new members, predominantly young people, work in the League of Communists now. They must adopt the vital realizations and experiences from the past struggles which the League of Communists, together with other working people, waged for the socialist self-managing society. This is a serious and complex task. The awareness about the paths and achievements of our revolution is a precondition for a deeper understanding and self-sacrificing solution of its current tasks.

Our man is deeply attached to socialist self-management, which is the source of his essential rights and freedoms. The relationship toward our entire social community is also expressed in the manner in which problems in the basic organization of associated labor are resolved. For this reason communists in their daily work must wage a struggle for the development of the working people's awareness on the need to bear always in mind, in addition to their own interests, the interests of other self-managing communities, that these interests must be coordinated, that in the decisionmaking on certain questions it is important to look forward, to the future.

The ideological work, among other things, increases the sensitivity and resistance of our working man toward those forces, tendencies and pressures which obstruct him from working and creating freely. Thus, our working man even more resolutely opposes technocratism, as an open deviation of his self-managing rights, opposes bureaucracy, as a restriction of the spirit and a limitation to his creative work, and nationalism, as an inhumane and degrading ideology.

Cadre Policy

The League of Communists has always paid great attention to the edification of cadres and to the cadre policy in general. This policy, which embraces the entire process from the ideopolitical and professional training to the nomination and election of people for certain tasks, must be the concern of the working people united on a self-managing basis and of the socialist forces led by the League of Communists. In implementing this policy, we proceed from the interests and goals of the workers class and all working people and from the practical tasks of developing socialist self-management.

We must resolutely strengthen the class orientation of the cadre policy and work for its long-term planning. The unity of goals and criteria and democratism in implementing the cadre policy make possible a comprehensive preparation and social involvement of the working people as free and responsible personalities. For this reason the working, professional, ideopolitical and moral qualities of people and their firm orientation toward socialist self-management are extraordinarily important. This particularly refers to those people who are elected to responsible, leading posts. At the same time, through public and democratic social accords of the protagonists of the cadre policy--in which the Socialist Alliance plays a special role--we must prevent tendencies of monopolization, privatization and accumulation of social functions.

The League of Communists and all organized socialist forces must persist in a consistent application of the confirmed cadre policy. Working people and citizens must make wider use of their constitutional right to decide directly and responsibly in the election and allocation of cadres to appropriate jobs and leading posts.

It is an obligation of the League of Communists to persist in supporting this millions-strong self-managing potential of ours to master the cadre policy. In the process of nomination and election, at every position, even the most responsible one, it is necessary to nominate several candidates; naturally, candidates fulfilling the set criteria. The people will be able, according to their own assessment and decision, to actually select the best candidates whom they will also fully support in their work. Thus it will prevent individuals from staying in the same posts for a long time and becoming bureaucrats; and the unprincipled struggle for functions and positions which inflicts serious political damage will also be prevented.

All attempts of individuals and groups to decide on the cadre policy and on the election of people outside the elected organs and bodies, or allegedly in their name, while actually contrary to the principles and criteria of our social policy must be prevented.

The recently held elections of delegates and delegations, as well as the elections in the League of Communists and the sociopolitical organizations, have clearly demonstrated that our working people and citizens know who are the best people in their circle, who should be given confidence and from whom they can expect best results. Among the elected delegates and members of the individual organs and forums there are increasingly more workers from material production. There is also a larger number of young people and women. However, this still does not correspond to their social role and their actual contribution to socialist development. The reasons for this situation are also in resistance of conservative individuals and groups from bureaucratic and technocratic structures, as well as in an insufficient involvement of certain organizations and organs of the League of Communists.

The adoption of the social accord on cadre policy in the federation and its increasingly more successful implementation are of great importance for a democratic and more effective solution of common and special problems of all our republics and provinces and for strengthening the equality and unity of our peoples and nationalities. For this reason we must also be resolute and consistent in the future in implementing an equal and corresponding representation of cadres in the organs and organizations of the federation from the republics and provinces.

In accordance with the character of our socialist self-managing democracy, it is necessary to support the orientation and practice of nonprofessional performance of responsible functions in the League of Communists, the sociopolitical organizations, the delegate assemblies and in other organizations and organs. It is also necessary to insure the conditions that the cadres, after their mandate has expired, return to their earlier organizations, in accordance with the principle of changing and engaging new people.

The cadre policy is one of the strategic questions of our struggle for socialist self-management and therefore it will remain in the care of the League of Communists in the future, too.

Comrades, I know that it is impossible to encompass in a report everything that has been achieved since the 10th congress up to the present. I have dwelled more on those questions where the most important tasks are expected in the coming period. These tasks will be worked out much more widely and concretely in the discussion and the congress documents. However, even now we can say with certainty that the LCY as a party of revolutionary action will achieve new victories in the struggle for socialist self-management and comprehensive development of our country, the community of free people and equal and brotherly peoples and nationalities.

Socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia has firm and lasting foundations and reliable supports for its future.

The strength of Yugoslavia is in the heroism and firmness of its peoples and nationalities who have been steeled through history and have passed a test under the greatest trials of the great liberation war. (applause)

The strength lies in their unity and awareness that this unity in the present-day world, in which force has not yet yielded to reason, is a condition not only of prosperity but also of bare survival. (applause)

The strength lies in the ideas which inspire us and in the aims for which we struggle. (applause)

The strength lies in the workers class and its decisive role in society, in our working people who, although they have not yet been freed of many difficulties and renunciations, every day possess more and live better and better. (applause)

The strength is in our young generation which has adopted the achievements of the revolution as its own and which knows that it has had a longer period of work and life in freedom and peace than any preceding generation on this soil. (applause)

The strength is in the socialist self-managing system which insures our people the ability to decide freely and sovereignly on their work and the results of work which preserves it from every form of exploitation and any aspect of violence and from everything that undermines a comprehensive development of free human beings. (applause)

The strength is in the wide front of organized socialist forces headed by the League of Communists, a vanguard not only by its ideopolitical orientation but also by its rich revolutionary experience and by its ability to elucidate the roads and prospects for further development. (applause)

The strength is in the all-people's defense the striking force of which is the Yugoslav People's Army within which the ideological-moral firmness, combat readiness and modern equipment are mutually imbued in a unique manner. (applause)

The strength is in our independence and nonalined policy, in the fact that even with the biggest powers we talk as equals and that we cooperate with nearly all countries of the world on the basis of equality. (applause)

The strength is in the high reputation of socialist nonalined Yugoslavia, in numerous friends throughout the world and in the position which has been won by few other countries in the international relations. (applause)

For this reason we look to tomorrow with serenity and optimism. I am convinced that after this congress we move to new actions for socialism and for human happiness with even clearer views in the future.

Thank you. (prolonged applause and standing ovation)

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